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A Farmer's Criticism of the Socialist Party.

I WAS formerly a Democrat, but becoming thoroughly disgusted with the policies of Grover Cleveland's last administration, I joined the Populist Party and had the honor of being nominated for its standard bearer in the gubernatorial campaign in California of 1894. I adhered closely to this party until it was sold out to the Democracy of this State in 1898, by a few unscrupulous politicians, in order to secure a few minor positions on the State ticket of that party.

Since that time I have acted independent of all party lines, as a "free lance," endeavoring to harpoon every political crocodile that dared to lift its head above the miasmatic swamps in which are sunk the remains of the two "grand old parties," that have so manifestly outlived their usefulness.

The signs of the times clearly indicate that political power is passing out of the control of these two antique relics, and in the unsettled state of the public mind at present the political future of this country seems to me to present an unsolved problem, simply hanging on contingencies.

Whether or not the Socialist Party shall gain definite and lasting headway in the confusion of ideas prevailing at present, depends absolutely upon the policies it may outline in its platform. I have read largely of Socialist literature within the last four years, endeavoring to do so without partisan bias, and from such reading, and a critical examination of the "Immediate Demands" and resolutions on Socialism and Trades Unionism, I am of the opinion that there is no reasonable hope of any considerable affiliation of farmers and other conservative elements of the country with the Socialist movement with its present policies and declarations.

It seems to me that the only possibility of such an association lies in the elimination of some things from the "immediate demands" of the Socialist Party, and a modification of its position

concerning Trades Unions. From the present form of these declarations it would seem that the whole intent and purpose of the Socialists is to promote the interests of labor organizations only.

While said organizations are important and exercise large political influence because of their concentrated power, nevertheless, in my opinion they will utterly fail of success in gaining control of either state or nation, on the basis of the demands and resolutions referred to, because of the maintenance of the central idea that Trades Unionists and Socialists constitute all there is of humanity worth preserving. If through any political upheaval, amounting to a social revolution, against the tyranny imposed on the masses by plutocracy, the Socialist Party should gain the ascendancy, with its present program, the party would speedily perish in the ruts of its own digging. No party or doctrine can long endure that is not equitable and just in the sight of man, conceding to every human being the rights and immunities claimed by itself.

Only in a general way is any class in the land, other than labor organizations, included in the benefits proposed, except in the last part of the "Negro Resolution," which declares:

"That we, the American Socialist Party, invite the negro to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world."

Now the negro is by nature and disposition a farmer, and nine out of ten of them will probably never be anything else. So it would seem, by implication at least, that in framing this resolution, the intention was to include in this category all farmers of whatever race, without regard to color or previous condition of servitude.

The chief fundamentals of the Socialist Party plan seem to be embodied in the second section of the "Immediate Demands," which reads:

"The progressive reduction of the hours of labor, and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor."

This declaration seems to be in harmony with the conceptions of the average Trade Unionist, which position he is certainly entitled to maintain. But if he desires associations with other classes of people, for the furtherance of legislation looking to this end, where is the incentive for the farmer, artisan and small trader to join their fortunes with the Socialist Party.

It must be manifest to every candid mind that such "shortening of the hours of labor and increased pay" of the Trades Union-

ist inevitably increases the cost of production, and as a corollary must increase the cost of the product to the consumer. Now the farmer is not a producer but a consumer of products protected by the American tariff system and co-operative labor organizations. Consequently the farmer buys his supplies in the dearest markets of the world, and sells his products in the cheapest markets of the world in direct competition with the servile and pauper labor of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Where, then, are the farmers to gain any material benefit by joining with the Trade Union forces on the platform promulgated by the Socialist Party? The farmer, especially the grain farmer, is, in consequence of his competition with the pauper labor countries, coupled with the fleecing he receives at home under the tariff, continually growing poorer, and more dependent on the money changers and grain sharks. Therefore, in his distress, he is willing to join any party that can offer any tangible basis on which these evils can be abolished.

But it is human nature—usually chuck full of prejudice against every creed and calling not of his own persuasion—for everyone to hang on to his own dogma until convinced against his will that something better is offered him. As a farmer of forty years' standing, it seems to me that the Socialist Party, with its present policies, offers us no remedy for the grievances of which we complain.

Then, again, it is declared in the resolution on Trades Unionism, that "The exploitation of labor will only come to an end when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trades-unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Socialist Party and assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage-slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution."

Here is Bellamyism pure and simple; that the government shall own all property, land and the products of labor, and that all the people of the nation shall be its employes, absolutely subject to the will and directions of a central government.

The first objection I have to such an arrangement is that a central power in possession of all the means of production is absolute master of the direction and destiny of the people, and once possessed of such power such a government inevitably becomes an irresponsible despotism, holding its citizens in subjection by the iron hand that always follows concentrated power.

Secondly: I object to this plan of government, because it in-

evitably destroys all independence of individual action and love of country, for there can be no patriotism in any country where there are no homes founded upon title deeds. Socialism may grow in the countries of Europe, where on the average not one man in fifty owns a foot of land. Tenantry is hereditary and the conception of anything better is foreign to the common mind, and it seems that the highest conception of civilization and independence yet reached in those countries is the changing of the system of serfdom at present prevailing from individual landlordism to that of a governmental control of all the means of production. But in this country the love of title deeds to homes is inbred among the people.

It is true that such homes, in consequence of unjust burdens imposed upon the masses, are largely passing into the hands of the speculator and plutocratic money changer, which process will ultimately culminate in the worst revolution ever known, unless some equitable solution of the difficulty can be reached.

The genius of our institutions is the home-builder, where the family may be reared independently of landlords in any form. It seems to me that serious consideration of this subject should cause the abandonment of such undertakings, for in my opinion the party that advocates the transfer of all lands and other property to the government, in trust for the people, will never be trusted by the people with the reins of government so long as the love of liberty and independence has a lodgment in the land.

If the Socialist Party will leave off its extreme views and adopt a platform of principles seemingly tangible and intelligible to the ordinary understanding, there will be a prospect of all the toilers of the nation, in whatever calling engaged, joining its ranks and working for the party's success.

It seems to me that a majority of the farmers of the nation would accept and support a platform of principles taken almost wholly from the Socialist Party "demands," as follows:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
2. A graduated income tax.
3. A graduated land tax.
4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.
5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and State and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.
6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representa-

tion and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

8. State or National insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age.

On these propositions the conservative elements of the nation are substantially agreed, including a majority of the farmers.

Containing, as it does, the Initiative and Referendum, Proportional Representation and Imperative Mandate, it gives to the people absolute control over all legislation, and consequently power to shape the government in any direction as a majority of the electors may determine.

These planks, coupled with Graduated Income Tax and a Graduated Land Tax, eminently just and salutary, should certainly justify the most exacting within the bounds of equity.

J. B. Webster.

The Socialist Party and the Farmer.

Here is a position which offers a fair challenge and an excellent criticism of the Socialist Party, platform and propaganda from the point of view of the members of the largest wing of the great productive army of the world. Unless Socialists can meet that challenge and answer these criticisms they have no hope of success and no right to expect it.

At the very beginning it must be admitted that many of the conclusions which Mr. Webster draws are perfectly logical ones considering the information which the Socialists have sent out concerning their position and principles. Socialists themselves are responsible for the fact that a reader of their literature naturally gains the idea that the Socialist Party is largely a Trade Union Party, or at least, that it is interested only in the welfare and future of the industrial workers. It is a rather grimly humorous situation when nearly 45 per cent of the producers of this country are forced to hunt through a resolution on the "Negro Problem" to find any consideration of their interests: The only just criticism I can make in reply is to point out that he has allowed himself to be confused by the presence of the "Immediate Demands" on the end of our platform and has come to consider them as constituting the complete statement of the Socialist position. The tail is evidently so prominent as to conceal the whole animal. Even for this mistake it is hardly so much Mr. Webster who is to blame as the Socialist writers and propagandists. In the light of the majority of Socialist literature and the "demands" and "resolutions" to which he refers, he is largely justified in jumping to the conclusion that the expressions "working class," "workers," and "workingmen" refers only to the workers in the great industries. In view of this fact, is it not high time for Socialists to begin to disabuse his mind and those of the millions of workers of which he is a representative, of this impression and to assure him that the laborer, whether he toil in field, factory, mine or office, with plow, hammer, pick or pen, is equally a member of that "Working Class," whose political expression the Socialist Party claims to be?

All these workers are equally dependent upon the privately owned means for the production, distribution, transportation, storage and marketing of goods, and suffer alike from the exploitation legalized and perpetuated by our present class owned and class directed government. Nor is it true that even while capitalism lasts there is any such opposition of interests between the farmer and the wage-worker as Mr. Webster claims. I be-

lieve that a moment's thought will convince him that the farmer is really much more of a producer than a consumer of the products of industry, and that even at the present time he will be materially benefited by the high wages and shorter hours which the Socialist seeks to secure for all workers, including the farmer.

A careful reading of the Socialist Party platform (not the Immediate Demands) will show that the future of that party does not "depend absolutely upon the policies it may outline in its platform," at least not in the sense in which Mr. Webster uses the words, as meaning the particular "planks" in which it sets forth any intermediate steps. The success of the Socialist Party depends much more upon the progress of economic development than upon its success in framing "vote-catching" planks. The one great and fundamental difference between the Socialist Party and all other political parties is to be found in the fact that its one basic "demand" or "plank" is that the present class rule of capitalism must give way to a government of, by and for the producing laboring classes.

But Mr. Webster objects to the coming of collectivism as the next social stage, and if any great body of the workers really become convinced that this change will not be to their interests its coming may be delayed almost indefinitely. An examination of his position, however, shows that he has confused "state capitalism," "government ownership" or "Bellaymism," as he very properly calls it, with Socialism. Once more it is not Mr. Webster who is to be blamed for this confusion, but rather those Socialists who, for various reasons, have been confusing these very things in their writings and speeches, and it is necessary for us to first cast this beam out of the Socialist eye before we can logically call attention to the mote in the visual organs of our critic. But no matter whether so-called Socialists know it or not, government ownership under a capitalist government is in no way akin to Socialism and the sooner that fact is made clear the quicker will one great obstacle be removed from the path of Socialist progress.

"The co-operative stage of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution," which the Socialists point out is destined to succeed our present competitive anarchy, will be simply an administrative organization of the productive forces of society. As I have covered this whole ground, together with much of that raised in the remainder of Mr. Webster's paper, in my book on "The American Farmer," I will take the liberty of inserting a couple of rather lengthy extracts from that work.

"Just as the feudal nobility gave way as a ruling class to the

capitalists, so the latter will be forced to surrender their domination to the laborers. But under a system of common ownership, all would be owners, and all would likewise be rulers, and the idea of ruling as now understood would disappear.

"Indeed the larger part, if not all, the machinery for ruling would disappear as no longer of any use. Anyone who stops to think for a moment must admit that the main function of the present state, government, courts, officials, etc., is the protection of property and the settling of disputes among property owners. Indeed it is safe to say that 90 per cent of such machinery is used either in assisting the capitalist class to take away the laborer's product, or else in settling disputes among the capitalists as to the final control of what has already been taken. When the government passes into the hands of the producers—the laborers of field and factory—they will have no need of it for any of these purposes. In their hands it will be transformed into a gigantic information bureau that will gather all necessary facts concerning the amount of each product needed for the use of the population, the best localities and the best methods for their production, etc. It will also be used to form the administrative machinery of those larger and more important general industries such as the postoffice, railroad, telegraph, telephone, and perhaps the manufacture of some such staple commodities as iron and steel, that seem to be capable of much more economical operation on a national scale."

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"The first step must be the organization of the farmers and wage-workers into a political party for the purpose of gaining control of the powers of government. Until this is done and the government is actually in the control of the producers, the farmers and wage-workers are little interested in governmental actions.

"Once that the government is so controlled—once, in short, that the Socialists are in power (and they can hardly be expected to accomplish much before)—they can use that government, state, national or local, in the interest of the creators of wealth. For the first time in history there will be an opportunity for an intelligent choice as to the measures most desirable for the common good. To-day the one question of paramount importance in every governing body is not how can goods be produced with the least amount of human exertion, but how can the largest amount of profits be made to accrue to the capitalist class.

"Whatever action may be taken by a Socialist government concerning the great industrial plants, there will be no need or sense in the forcible expropriation of the average farmer. All that he practically owns is a 'job,' and no Socialist government

would want to take that away from him. Whatever land is in the possession of the present government, will certainly not be alienated by any Socialist government. Now it so happens that a large percentage of the very land which would be of most value to a co-operative society is in the possession of the present capitalist government. These lands have been of such a nature as not to be capable of exploitation by the individual farmer and hence have not been utilized at all. This is especially true of the arid lands. Millions of acres of the most fertile land in America lie still untouched by the plow, or even the surveyor's chain, awaiting the time when adequate irrigation works can be constructed. But already private capitalists are seeking to gain possession of these lands that they may use them as a means for the exploitation of a future generation of farmers. They are urging the present government, controlled by their class, to construct irrigation works, whose benefit will accrue only to a few great land-holders. Proper control of river floods will make available vast tracts of alluvial lands, which having been practically created by the community, will at once, without any form of law, become the property of the collectivity. The something over eight million acres of forest land controlled by the present state and national governments, will form the foundation for a future department of forestry. Around every large city there are great tracts of vacant land held purely as a means of appropriating the increased value arising from the toil of others. The owners of this land, even less than the industrial capitalist, have not given the slightest consideration for the enormous values which such possession indicates. Their possession of these tracts, by restricting the expansion of the city, compels the over crowding of the populations in murderous tenements. That a Socialist government would permit this condition to endure for a single hour is inconceivable. The expropriation of these owners will give the territory necessary for the sewage farming described in the previous chapter.

"In each of these various fields of agriculture it would be possible to begin co-operative industry, as soon as the necessary governmental machinery should be in the hands of the workers. As all the most improved methods of production would be used and the entire product would go to the producers, it is evident that if there was any advantage in production upon a large scale, that laborers in these industries would at once receive a many-fold larger return than the "owner" of the little mortgage-ridden farm. Under these conditions it would not be long until such farmers would be anxious for a chance to surrender that shadow of private property in order to grasp the substance of the increased returns of socialized industry.

"How far the process of collective ownership would proceed I cannot attempt to say. I believe that ultimately the greater economy and superiority of collective operation will induce nearly all individual farm owners to ask to share its benefits. Some things at least are certain. No wage laborers would remain upon private farms, when by entering into the co-operative industry they could receive all their labor created. This would at once wipe out the bonanza farms upon the one hand, and on the other would give full opportunity for the sons and daughters of the present generation of farmers to look forward to something more than industrial slavery. The same effect would be produced upon all rented and mortgaged farms. Those who were working upon these would decline to give up any portion of their product, when by going upon the collectively owned farm they could receive it all. The landlords and mortgage owners would find their property of no value because it would no longer have the power to take a portion of other people's product. They would either be compelled to work their farms themselves or surrender them to the collectivity to be operated co-operatively. As the first alternative is impossible it follows that the Socialist government would soon find itself in possession of all the land needed.

"Socialists are bound by no fixed formula, plan or doctrine. Co-operative ownership of capital is advocated only because it is the logical conclusion of concentration and monopoly in industry, and so far as we can see to-day offers the only possible means of abolishing capitalism. If further economic development shall show that there are fields of industry in which concentration is not economical and in which exploitation can be abolished and production furthered by the retention of private ownership in certain instruments of production, such retention is in no way at variance with the principles of the Socialist philosophy. Indeed there are some fields of production in which it is self-evident that such ownership will be retained. No sane man ever dreamed that the brushes of the artist, the pen of the author or the studios in which they will work need ever become public property. The acquirement of the instruments of production and distribution by the collectivity is for the purpose of increasing the product and stopping exploitation and not to satisfy the exigencies of any scheme of social reconstruction."

A. M. Simons.

The Elections in Bulgaria.*

Sofia, March 17, 1902.

Dear Comrade:

In reply to your letter, I take pleasure in giving you the following information concerning the elections in this country:

Our party first entered the elections in 1894. The tyrannical rule of Stambouloff is over. In that first campaign, Comrades Janko Sakyzoff and Nicolas Gabrovsky were elected. Our party did not follow any definite tactics at that time and a little later on, so that the 3,000 votes, or thereabout, which were cast for our candidates did not represent any actual success. During the period from 1895 to 1898 the party succeeded in forming an organization and outlining a plan for independent action. We polled 8,000 votes in the elections of 1898 and increased our representation in the Legislature to six deputies. This position could only be maintained by us when backed up by a solid and determined Socialist organization. Happily this was understood, so that our organizations, which did not exceed thirty in 1897, began to increase and has now reached the number of seventy-six locals with 2,600 members. Simultaneously with this progress a rich literature consisting mainly of translations came into our possession, thanks to the efforts of the Central Committee and of a few individual comrades, especially of the editor, George Bacaloff.

In the elections of 1901 our party fought its own battle and sent only one single representative into Parliament, Comrade George Kyrkoff, who was elected in Slivno, an industrial town. But our vote rose to 10,000. During the last elections, which were held on February 17, 1902, we had everywhere our own independent tickets. Eight seats were won. In Sliven, two: George Kyrkoff, secretary of the party, and George Vassileff, a weaver; in Jamboli, three: D. Blagseff, one of the oldest comrades, editor of the Socialist review, *Novo Vreme*, Janko Sakyzoff, editor of the review, *Obeto Delo*, and Vladimir Dimitroff, a lawyer; in Tavlikeni, two: Janko Sakyzoff and Nicolas Gabrovsky, a lawyer; in Syhindol, one: Andre Konoff, a lawyer. This success is due to a strong increase in our votes. The Bulgarian Socialists number now 18,000.

It must be noted here that this is not merely the effect of the active propaganda and agitation of the party, but also of the social and economic situation in this country. We are going through a severe crisis which is clearly resulting in the rapid disappearance

*Bulletin of International Socialist Bureau.

of the small proprietors. On one side rapid proletarianisation, on the other gradual evolution of capitalist production. Such is in two words the spectacle presented by our country to-day. Our political parties are mere cliques, thanks to the little developed social relations. Their struggles have no class basis, the only motives being the satisfaction of greed and ambition. In other words, Bulgaria is passing through the period of primitive accumulation of capital, and you know that this accumulation takes place exclusively through theft with the complicity of the government.

We believe that we have arrived at the end of this period. In fact, our young bourgeoisie manifests a desire for a stable government with a precise economic program. They begin to listen attentively when we speak of the economic evolution of this country. They strive to profit by our lectures and to find their right way. But a very great obstacle rises before us: the bad financial situation of the nation caused by the incapability of our rulers and by the spirit of partisanship in our administration. Our debts are the result of their bad administration and of their brainless internal and external policy, which was not in keeping with the resources of this country.

We have a numerous bureaucracy and we sustain a colossal army that consumes more than half of our budget. Besides our system of taxation is inadequate for the requirements of the State and the mass of the population. A reform of our revenue system is therefore imperatively needed. But it is just this task which our bourgeois parties do not wish to undertake. The uproar which was lately created by the question of the Paris loan shows plainly that they do not care to begin the reform of taxation or any other.

After these explanations you will easily understand the reason of our success. At this moment of social transformation our party is not only acting the part of the proletariat but is also showing the trend and the utility of social evolution. By constantly showing its class character, the Socialist party helps to define the position of the bourgeois parties and forces them to transform themselves from cliques into social parties. Through its intense propaganda and the constant development of its program our party gives the working class a conscience and reaches also the small proprietors, craftsmen and farmers. As the latter are the majority of our population, and, therefore, of the electors,—we have universal manhood suffrage since our political emancipation,—they flee from the bourgeois parties that have deceived and robbed them and they come to us.

Of course, our party does not give itself to any illusions in regard to its power and does not rest on its laurels. The most

marked result of our activity is the organization of a party of workingmen who recognize their class interests, and the spreading of our demands among the small proprietors. We have thus created a favorable environment for our future activity within the bounds of social and economic evolution in our country which is just now suffering the pains of growing capitalism.

In conclusion, let me say that our party organ is the *Rabotnitchesky Vestnik*, edited by Comrade Gabriel Geiorguieff. This year it had an edition of 3,000 copies. We also publish a labor almanac every year, 30,000 copies of which were recently distributed. Fraternally,

The Secretary-Treasurer,

G. Kyrkow.

(Translated by Ernest Untermann.)

Natural Selection Under Socialism.



WHEN man's struggles for social and political justice shall have been crowned with success, when over the face of the earth there shall dwell not one hireling, not one soul in fear of a master, when the future of the humblest man shall have been made as secure as that of the society of which he is a part and when our circling planet shall have become wrapt in the profound and lasting peace and concord of a world of brothers and comrades, there will still remain the antagonism between life, on the one hand, striving ever to maintain, expand and perpetuate itself, and the eternal cosmic forces working unceasingly though unconsciously for its extinguishment.

Whatever has had a beginning must have an end. The favorable conditions under which life arose on this planet, the favorable conditions under which it has maintained itself to this day and developed in its highest form into "a creature looking before and after," these favorable conditions, while they may no doubt continue for a length of time which measured by present human historical standards seems almost infinite, must within a period which to the geologist and the physical astronomer is but as the shadow that flies, completely pass away.

Already the existence, in their present numbers, of the populations inhabiting civilized countries and the enjoyment of the conveniences and comforts which have become necessities to them, is dependent upon the conquests made by man in the domain of brute nature, is the result of recent inroads of the conscious upon the territory of the unconscious.

This war between thought and matter, between man and the cosmos, has in the course of the past century, gone, it must be said, most favorably for our side. Many, indeed, seem to think that our victory is now complete. "Nature," they say, "has at last become the slave of man. It has been forced to disclose its jealously guarded secrets. It has surrendered the keys of its mighty treasure houses and like a shorn Samson it now toils submissively but faithfully at the treadmill of the modern Philistines. With the speed of light it transmits our messages to our friends across the seas and with the shoulders of an Atlas it carries the billion-tonned burden of our mighty commerce. Like the gods of old, we say, "Let there be light," and behold, it "causes the night to disappear while the very sounds of our voices it jealously preserves to future generations. We are the new Aladdins of the lamp of science and we have invoked the genii that shall forever serve us. So let us eat, drink and be merry, for we have nought to fear."

This, without doubt, is the optimistic spirit generally prevailing and far be it from my purpose to act the part of a mere alarmist. But forewarned, says the proverb, is forearmed. Doubtless as we walk along the commercial thoroughfares of our great cities and behold the twenty and thirty storied structures of steel and marble, dedicated to human service and the product of human ingenuity; as we contemplate the manifold wonders and achievements of modern science and invention, we are impressed with a feeling of pride in our race and of confidence in its stability. We feel a buoyancy which the young man feels whose life is just opening out before him and who sees his future tinged with the rainbow hues of success and happiness. Yet, looking at all this in the cold, dry light of science and philosophy; viewing it externally, as it were, and as if from some far-off planet, what do we behold? That man is, after all, but an insect, generated and sustained by the escaping energy of a distant orb, a mere by-product of solar waste, and possessing as his home and the full stage for his activities, the bare surface of a speck of dust floating in a shoreless abyss of stars and constellations. We see that compared with the great universe of which he is a part and the mighty forces against which he must contend, or rather against which it seems hopeless for him to even attempt to contend, man is an ephemeron, an accident in the scheme of things, an episode in the drama of existence, a bubble in the cosmic whirlpool and a bubble that must ultimately dissolve into the stream of substance whence it arose.

But on the other hand, to us who are the atoms composing that bubble, nothing in the universe, not even the universe itself, can be so precious as that very bubble. Indeed, that bubble is the universe risen to life and self-consciousness, and to increase the iridescence and lengthen the period of existence of that bubble must be and should be the supreme object of human endeavor. Human life is the summation of all life and of non-life. The existence of humanity is the purpose, in so far as there can be said to be a purpose, for existence in general. If then the most important thing for the race is to see to its own preservation and to the increase of its power of self-preservation society is justified in taking all necessary measures for that purpose, while it would, on the other hand, be impolitic and lamentable in the extreme for it to undertake to nullify or act counter to any natural law or tendency already existing, the effect of which is to increase the self-preservative power of society and of the individuals composing it.

Now the forces external to life and by which life is conditioned, by the very fact that the life of any individual or species is impossible unless there is more or less of an adaptation between

the given individual or species and these forces, constituting its environment, produce of themselves an increased power of the species to resist destruction. Life being gifted with the power of geometrical increase, this, indeed, being an indispensable requisite for its preservation in its less perfect state, it follows that as those individuals of any given species who are least adapted to the conditions of their existence disappear and make room for the increasing descendants of the better adapted, the general average power of the species rises, and as this process of natural selection is continued from generation to generation and its results are cumulative, there is finally produced so great an organic modification in the race as to constitute it a new race superior to the old in life sustaining power.

Men of science are now practically agreed that if natural selection is not the sole factor of organic progress, it is, at any rate, the chief factor, and since the progress of civilization must in a very large measure be proportionate to the organic progress of the race, it is evident that natural selection must continue if progress is to continue.

It is here where Individualists imagine that they find a fatal defect in the Socialist philosophy.

"Natural selection," they say, "implies inequality, which is contrary to the Socialist spirit; furthermore, it implies overpopulation and widely prevailing poverty, for otherwise all could perpetuate their kind. On the other hand, assuming conditions to be made really equal to all, then "population would increase to the limits of subsistence and all would be reduced to an equilibrium of misery, while the absence of the vivifying selective principle would cause general racial degeneracy and ultimately extinction or a return to barbarism."

It must be admitted that this argument, or rather, this seeming argument from biology against Socialism has not hitherto been fully and satisfactorily answered; at any rate, it has not received the attention it deserves, and this is so simply because modern Socialism has not yet completely rid itself of the Utopianism that it has inherited from the older and pre-scientific school of Socialists. While it is true that no economic system of things can be too idealistic or advanced for a society whose citizens have reached the stage of racial or biologic development in which their physical and psychical needs and powers are fully in harmony and at no point conflict with the given sociologic and economic requirements, it can not be said that human nature as at present constituted, is adapted for or could readily adapt itself to, that exalted form of social life involved in the proposals of the philosophical Communists.

But Socialism is not Communism. It is not Utopianism. So-

cialism comes as the class rebellion of the workers, risen to a consciousness of their rights and interests, against the class domination of the non-working owners of the means of life and labor. It comes to establish harmony and order in the production of wealth and justice in its distribution. It comes to give equality of opportunities to all and to each, according to his work. This does not require a change in human nature, but it does mean conditions under which human nature may change of itself and change for the better. It does not require a war against that law of progress by which life has risen from the lowliest beginnings to its present high state of development, but it does mean conditions under which the truly fittest would survive.

It is the object of this essay to show that it is possible, without lowering in the slightest degree the general high standard of living and high standard of earnings that we justly associate with the idea of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and without interfering in the remotest manner with the liberty of the individual in such properly private matters as those appertaining to marriage and generation, to enable the principle of natural selection to work under Socialism so as to promote the steady organic progress and intellectual development of the race and the consequent steady enlargement of the dominion of man over nature and of his power of control over his own destiny.

"But does not," interposes a reader, "does not the 'survival of the fittest' mean the non-survival, that is, the destruction, of the perhaps equally numerous less fit, and if we are thus to have the old brutal struggle for existence to continue in the future society, what is the use of striving to abolish the present system?"

The answer to this is, that natural selection under civilization does not by any means necessarily involve a struggle for existence. There are two forms under which natural selection manifests itself; one, the more primitive form, is, indeed, the struggle for existence and prevails and need only prevail among the lower animals and savages. The other we may here call the struggle for perpetuation, for it is a struggle by the individual to perpetuate, as it were, his ego, his soul, into posterity by means of descendants.

Under the struggle for existence, survival of the fittest (the fittest for the particular conditions) is brought about chiefly by the gradual dying off of the least fit, directly or indirectly from lack of an adequate supply of the necessities of life. Defeat, however, in the struggle for perpetuation need mean nothing worse than involuntary continence and the dying of old age without issue. Thus among beings endowed with the gift of reason and deriving their livelihood through productive activities, there is a

natural check upon over-population and there is no necessity for that "long-drawn agony" which results from the struggle for existence. The great difference between the sum required for self-sustentation, according to the standard of living prevailing at any time, and the sum required for self-perpetuation, that is, for maintaining at the same standard of living a wife and children, affords a ready measure by which the individual may judge whether it is advisable for him to marry and beget offspring or not. As the standard of living among the bulk of the population of any country is measured by their average income and as the average income must at all times be equal to the cost of maintaining a family containing among its dependent members at least two children, since otherwise population would decline, it follows that under civilized social conditions any individual whose earning power is below the average but who is not wholly incapable will always be able to earn sufficient to supply all his own personal needs, according to the standard of living then prevailing.

All this will, no doubt, sound very dreary to the impatient idealist who seeks in Socialism a short cut to the millennium, but evolution does not work by short cuts. The progress of man and civilization, in so far as it is to be enduring, must be the outcome of a slow upward movement, during which the internal structure of the human organism and particularly of the human nervous organism becomes adapted to the external requirements. Developing civilization implies an increasingly complex environment and a more complex environment implies a more complex arrangement and larger growth of the brain cells, that is, greater psychical power in those who are to play their full part in such a civilization. Again, an increase in the power of man over nature, means a deeper knowledge of the laws of nature, both on the part of the race and of the individual; a more widely prevailing inventive faculty; a greater general capacity to co-operate and to co-operate effectively; a grasp of the truths of science that shall be increasingly encyclopedic and synthetic and a science that shall itself be more comprehensive and exact; and all this implies greater intellectuality. It is only our ignorance and lack of brain power which now prevents us from accomplishing tasks that to men of the present generation seem impossible.

If, for example, we understood how to tap the tremendous stream of heat energy constantly falling upon the earth from the sun so as to economically transform a portion of it into but the merest fraction of the equivalent mechanical energy, we could turn the Desert of Sahara into a Garden of the Hesperides, make the Arctic regions a center of empire, travel around the globe with the speed of its own rotation and render impossible the re-

curing glacial periods which in the past have desolated the hemispheres. With still greater knowledge of the laws of matter and the ether and consequently still greater power we could do still more. We could make the home of man a space of three dimensions, traverse and inhabit in comfort and safety the depths of the seas and the fluid interior of the earth, fly from planet to planet with celestial velocity and, who knows, perhaps even safeguard life from extinction upon the extinction of the solar system itself.

Natural selection is thus indispensable to race progress as well as to race perpetuation. The increasing difficulties with which civilized man will be confronted with the passing of the ages, difficulties such as those arising from the inevitable and comparatively early exhaustion of the coal beds, the coming on of the next ice age, the exhaustion of the oxygen of the atmosphere through the process of combustion so extensively carried on by human agency, etc., as well as the problems that must arise from the desire of men to reach out and to derive from the raw material of niggardly nature the means for a fuller and richer individual and social existence; these problems and difficulties it will only be possible to meet successfully by greater individual power and social co-operation.

But it is not a question whether natural selection is something desirable or not. It is not a question whether it is best that there shall be allowed to develop out of existing humanity a race of geniuses who shall be far more superior to us than we are to the savages of the Andaman Islands. But the fact that calls for recognition is, that so long as the fertility of the human race is such as to cause a constant geometrical increase of population wherever the economic conditions permit (as all statistics prove) and to consequently cause a constant pressure of population upon the standard of living if not upon the bare means of subsistence, natural selection whether it takes the form of the struggle for existence or the struggle for perpetuation must continue. Its workings can not be evaded. But what we can do is to determine the direction in which it shall work.

For example, in the present state of society, it is those having the acquisitive faculty most strongly developed who are the fittest. In a previous epoch the physically strongest and the most cunning were the fittest. At some future period it may be that those who are the most serviceable to society and who by their very nature most capable of rendering service to society who will be regarded as, and who actually will be the fittest to survive and perpetuate the race.

Now were the Communistic form of Socialism to be set up upon the ruins of capitalism, so that every individual would re-

ceive the same income while being under no responsibility in the matter of the maintenance and education of his children, thus withdrawing the prudential check upon the undue exercise of the sexual and philoprogenitive instincts, it is certain, if the experience of mankind and the teachings of science are to count for anything, that population would in a comparatively short time increase to the limits of the natural resources and to the point where the diminishing returns of agricultural land in proportion to the labor and energy expended upon it would so reduce the per capita product of the social labor and the individual's share of the means of subsistence as to make any further increase of population physically impossible because of the death rate rising to an equality with the birth rate.

Under such a system, supposing it were possible for it to maintain itself for any length of time, natural selection would work, perhaps, by the survival of those who could live on least, in other words, it would result in degeneration, or perhaps it would work, as it were, by lottery, but still it would work, save that its work would be of no direct or indirect advantage to the race. It must be admitted that the operation of that other Darwinian principle of sexual selection would here intervene to mitigate somewhat the horrors of a system so contrary to the intentions of nature and so destructive of the conditions of race progress, but we must not overestimate the possible effects of this form of selection in keeping down the birth rate and its power to influence survival.

Sexual selection acts chiefly to prevent the mixture of inferior with superior, but as the less desirable among the females rather than remain single usually content themselves with the company of their equals from among the males, and vice versa, the total number of individuals who must die without issue or with diminishing issue as a result merely of the workings of sexual selection must be insignificant.

The problem, therefore, that presses for a solution and that must be solved if Socialism is to gain the support of that large number, ever growing, who have come or are coming under the influence of the modern philosophy of evolution, is, how to reconcile the principle of race progress by means of natural selection with the Socialist demand for conditions under which the standard of earnings for all shall be such as will not only provide the necessities of life, but also all the comforts and refinements of civilization. It is the problem of how to reconcile the law of population, according to which there is a constant tendency for the standard of living to be pressed down to a bare subsistence and for child labor to be made an indispensable supplement to the labor of adults, with the aspiration of the Socialist for a civil-

ization in which culture, leisure, and beauty and grace of life shall be the portion of all and which shall secure to all the youth of the nation a thorough scientific and technical education so as to enable them to be of the utmost service to themselves and society and to have equal and utmost opportunities of serving themselves and society upon coming of age.

It is required, on the one hand, that overpopulation shall be prevented, and yet that there shall be no interference by society with the individual's right to act in such a manner as must necessarily cause overpopulation. Again, it is required that those who, through some congenital defect in their nature, physical or mental, are unfittest for the conditions of a complex and developed civilization should tend towards gradual extinction and yet that their guaranteed income shall far exceed the equivalent of the cost of their mere maintenance. These apparently contradictory requirements must be shown to be *apparently* contradictory only, if modern science is to be fully reconciled to and amalgamated with Socialism.

First, then, as to the requirement that overpopulation be prevented. This requirement can be satisfactorily met by social recognition of the natural law that parents must be responsible for the maintenance of their offspring and for the cost of preparing them for the duties and responsibilities of adult life.

Let society as the protector of the weak, insist upon compulsory and complete education for all the young and for their freedom from gainful labor during their minority and let the full cost of their support during that time and of their education be made a first charge upon the income of the parents or rather of the fathers, and it must then necessarily follow that this direct and heavy but perfectly justifiable and natural tax, if it may be called a tax, upon procreation, will make overpopulation practically impossible.

But it is not enough to prevent overpopulation. The qualitative requirements as to the composition of the social units have been shown to be equally important with the requirements concerning their quantity, and here, too, the solution of our problem is to be found by falling back upon the method of nature. Nature's method of race progress is to proportion rewards to merit, merit being interpreted as fitness for the environment. This same method of race progress must be continued in the future if race progress is to continue. The economic reward or income must as the general rule be proportionate to the economic merit or efficiency. In the same measure as one helps society to live (and society does not live by bread alone), so must society help him to live. There must be an inequality of income to correspond with the inequality of efficiency when equality of opportunities and

the right to the full product of one's labor shall have been secured to all.

Now if the less efficient or less productive individuals will be under the necessity of paying out of their smaller earnings, small, that is, as compared with the earnings of the abler workers, but very large as compared with the wages of the exploited proletarians of capitalism; if, I say, they will be under the necessity of paying out of their then relatively smaller earnings the same large amount as the more efficient individuals for the support and education of each and every one of their children, it is evident that the prudential and sexual selective checks upon population, working together, would in their case necessarily act far more powerfully and effectively than in the case of the better endowed. Thus in every generation there would be a constant tendency for the less capable to decline in numbers and for the more intelligent and desirable classes of the population to increase and multiply until this process of natural selection shall in time bring into being a race of men who shall be the worthy heirs of all the ages, the consummation and the flower of Nature's creative labor of evolution; a race of men who shall be fit to cope with those transcending problems upon the solution of which will depend the fate of life in the universe and who when the time will come shall know how to hold their own even amid the wreck of planets and the decay of suns.

It is not expected that the arguments here put forward will at the present time carry weight with any considerable number of the perhaps constitutionally "more advanced" Socialists. Diversity of opinions will continue to exist so long as there shall continue to be a diversity of minds and temperaments, and there will doubtless be contending political parties in the Co-operative Commonwealth as there are contending political parties to-day. It is, however, far from the purpose of the writer to create or accentuate divisions of opinion among Socialists but rather to add one more weapon to the arsenal of our movement and to help shatter the last remaining bulwark of the fortress of Individualism, and in closing, let us say that however we Socialists may differ as to the details about the future society and concerning the minor principles of its organization, we must in presence of the triumphant plutocracy that to-day rides rough-shod over the lives of the millions and crushes out under its brutal heel all the hope and joy of existence, stand shoulder to shoulder in the battle for the abolition of capitalistic despotism and for the establishment of that Industrial Democracy which alone can afford the basis for the development of a higher civilization.

Raphael Buck.

The Municipal Elections in Norway.*



WE have requested from Comrade Olaf Kringen, delegate from Norway to the International Socialist Bureau, some information regarding the last municipal elections in his country, at which women voted for the first time. In a previous letter, published in *Le Peuple* of Nov. 24, our comrade described the progress of Socialism in that northern country and the electoral system in force.

It was particularly stated in that letter that "the suffrage is restricted, it turns upon the possession of a rather high income, so the mass of the laborers have no vote." This, however, was a mistake. That situation existed before 1898, but since that year, suffrage has been universal for men at legislative elections, and universal for both men and women at municipal elections.

The first time that the Socialists took part in the municipal elections without any alliance was in 1898; they elected 28 Councilmen. Previous to that time, the liberal party had put in some labor candidates, and municipal politics had been generally carried on in a radical fashion. The conservative party had declared for private initiative in everything; it remains so to-day, that is to say, in complete opposition to the Socialist theory. Up to 1898 the liberal party had a two-thirds majority in Parliament, and also a majority in most of the municipalities, while now the power of the parties is approximately equal and the lines between them are not so clearly defined.

At the end of 1901, the municipal elections were held for the first time under the new electoral system (woman suffrage). The first result is that the Socialists elected 150 Councilmen as against 28 three years before.

The total number of Councilmen to be chosen was the same in both cases, so that our gain is absolute. In the principal towns and many of the smaller ones, the liberal party met with a serious reverse, its strength was reduced by half, and in many places a large portion of the gain went to the conservative party.

Christiania, the capital of Norway, with 226,000 inhabitants, which elects 84 Councilmen, is an excellent example of the political transformation brought about by the new electoral system. At the elections of 1898, the voting strength of each of the parties was as follows:

	Seats.
Conservatives	42
Liberals	35
Socialists	7

At the elections of 1901, the result was:

*Bulletin of the International Socialist Bureau.

	Seats.
Conservatives	48
Liberals	16
Socialists	14
Other parties	6

These six seats are held, one by an independent Socialist (whose wife is elected by the Socialists), two others by Councilmen who will vote with the Socialists on the most important questions, two others by Councilmen who support the liberal party and the last by a woman who adheres to the conservative teachings.

It will be seen, says Comrade Olaf Kringen, that the women have, without doubt, handed over municipal politics to the conservative party.

At Bergen, a city of about 70,000 inhabitants, the conservative party retained the same number of seats as before, while the Socialist party more than doubled the number of its successful candidates, electing 16 as against 6. This gain was at the expense of the liberals. These results apply in a general way to the whole country.

The conservative party, as illustrated by the case of Christiania, profited by the new system of voting, especially by reason of the women's votes. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, the woman's vote is conditioned on the payment of taxes; this excludes nearly all the unmarried working-women. Then, again, the women of the ruling class, being less confined by the labor of housekeeping, can get to the polls more readily.

At Christiania the women started a party of their own and elected two members of the Council, while two women were elected by the Socialists and two by the Conservatives. The liberal party did not elect a single woman, and it is generally admitted that this party had but a few women votes.

Among the militant Socialists, the opinion is that as for the great mass of women, the first election will find them on the conservative side, while a smaller body will range themselves with the Socialists and a very few will take an intermediate position; the Socialist forces, however, will increase after the first election and the conservative strength drawn from the women's vote will diminish.

PROVISIONS OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTION LAWS OF NORWAY.

The law-making power in Norwegian cities and other municipalities belongs to a Common Council, which chooses one-fourth of its members to serve as an Executive Committee ("formands-hab"). Ordinarily the Council meets every two weeks to discuss the questions presented to it by the Executive Committee, the members of which sit and vote like other members in the Coun-

cil. The total number of members is 20 in towns of less than 3,000, 28 in cities from 3,000 to 5,000, and the number increases up to 84 for cities of over 100,000 (Christiania, with 226,000 inhabitants, has 84 Councilmen). All the machinery of the legislative power in the cities is thoroughly democratic.

The following is the law for these municipal elections, which take place every three years:

1. Right of suffrage for every man fulfilling the conditions required by the national constitution, that is to say, to be a Norwegian by birth or naturalization, to be 25 years of age, and to have resided five years in the country and two years in the city where he wishes to vote.

2. Right of suffrage for every woman 25 years of age, with the same conditions of residence. The other conditions applying exclusively to women are: If they are married, the husband must have paid taxes for the current year; if single, they must have paid taxes on an income of at least 400 crowns (\$120). The law adds that if the assessment laws exempt so small an income, or even a larger one, the taxes shall be so collected that the right of suffrage shall not be lost. But in that case only a nominal tax shall be paid, not less than half a crown nor more than two crowns (15 to 60 cents).

The franchise for men, accordingly, does not depend, like that for women, upon a property qualification.

The right of suffrage for both sexes is suspended, according to the constitution, if the voter has received public relief for himself or his family during the year when the election is held. The right is also suspended in case of insanity. Residence at the workhouse does not affect it. Criminals lose their right. It is restored upon request, usually five years after expiration of the sentence.

The population bureau of the municipality has to prepare a list of all the voters. The names of those whose right is suspended are also indicated on the margin, with the cause for the suspension. The names of the voters, men and women, are carried in the list without any request from them. The elections take place every third year, in December. The list of voters must be ready by the middle of September in the year of the election, and must be posted up for the examination of the citizens in the most convenient places (the city hall and the headquarters of the political parties).

The lists are thus posted for four weeks, so that each citizen may examine them and see whether his name is duly included. The errors are then corrected by the magistrate and the Executive Committee of the city in the latter half of October. The

corrected and final list is then posted at the city hall the first of November.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

When a fifth of the registered voters in cities under 8,000, or at least 1,600 voters in larger cities, address a petition demanding that elections be held on the plan of proportional representation, that system is applied. The request must be filed with the electoral bureau before October 15. When this system has once been adopted, no further petition is required for subsequent elections.

1. At the time of arranging for the election, the electoral bureau shall ask the voters to present lists of candidates, according to the proportional system. These lists must be filed with the bureau before November 15.

2. Every list offered must, in order to be accepted, contain as many names, distinct or repeated not to exceed twice, as there are seats to be filled. The list must be signed by at least twenty voters. It is forbidden to sign more than one list or to be a candidate on more than one list.

3. All accepted lists will be announced as official lists. The voters must not make for themselves other lists than those announced and printed as official, but the voter may erase names and replace them by others, or else repeat (but only once) names on the official list, to replace those erased by him. In no case can a name appear more than four times (three times on the official list and once more added by the voter).

The other provisions relative to proportional representation have rather to do with technical points which necessarily belong to the system. It is required that each ticket bear a heading indicating clearly from what political group it is put up.

The proportional system is in force to-day in all the cities and most of the villages. The same law applies to the country villages as to the cities, apart from a few indispensable modifications. The elections in the country take place earlier than in the city. The system of proportional representation is to-day very popular in all parties and is an accepted fact.

The Australian ballot in its most perfect form is utilized in Norway, and it works admirably.

The women, then, are voters to-day, and may be named for municipal posts, but as for national elections we have only reached the stage of universal suffrage for every self-supporting man more than 25 years of age.

Revolutionary Expression.



SOCIALISM whether regarded as a statement, a social achievement, or a habit of thought is the most inclusively revolutionary conception yet presented to the experience of mankind.

We have been so busily engaged with the debris of capitalism that this great realization has escaped too many of us; but the entirety of newness with which we are encircling ourselves will surely produce its own philosophy and art, and a beautiful literature, the last and perhaps least expression of a magnificent life. I offer here only a few of my own faint intimations of a coming mental revolution. The platonic habit of thinking under the dominion of which we still err, may be set aside for a monopsychic habit. The idea or vital principle within each manifestation, now so dear to us, may be superseded by larger and yet larger externalisms outside the private thinker, until individualistic modes of thinking have all followed the individualistic mode of economic production. Even so large a generalization as social labor*production may be found hard to understand apart from other socials, and the naturalist, the legalist, the theologist, the laborist may all find their common denominator in the Socialist. The old mental habit of looking for deep things away down out of sight, under the surface, may also give place to a greater wisdom, expecting to find, and the finding of all wisdom on the surface. The old order which laid all things that were designed to endure on rocks, deep and primitive, may be inverted; and nothing that is to endure be suffered to go beneath any surface whatsoever. The wisdom of entire superficiality has yet to be understood. We may see the passing of the profound ideal and the ideal of permanency may, in a true society, give place to the ideal of free contemporaneous expression. Instead of huge stone-pillared edifices laid on vast granite foundations, defying time, being evidences of a stable faith in civilization; such massiveness may yet be looked upon as the builders' egotistic autobiographies of themselves in stone. And the greater wisdom of inviting time's changes on all we do may take its place. A palace of wood may yet bespeak a stronger faith in the dynasty than a palace of stone. And, like field flowers, the beauty of art may enjoy the right of transiency. The will of the people, now regarded by professionals as the very synonym of instability, may come to be the world's eternal social anchorage. Organized labor may become organized will, and money now based so largely on human captive labor, propelled by the organizing mastership, and social power of a few, may

represent the organization of a whole people; so that, instead of being a measure of social need disorganized, it may be the measure of social power organized. As the sacrament of social powers, man's only real estate may yet be its currencies. This, indeed, is already coming; the oil wells of Persia or of Russia no longer mean Persian or Russian possessions; they mean money possessions; they are at the disposal of whatsoever holds money or any other recognized symbol of the international life of the world. The evolution, punctuated by a revolutionary period, or full stop, is not a process which we are permitted to view from an outside standpoint, for, we are all in it, as active and passive persons. As a body of men constituting society we cannot jump out of old habits of government, nor can we as persons leave behind us our old habits of thought. Thus I, for instance, though theoretically a monist, am obliged to think and speak like a man who believes in two universal mental opposites in order to be understood.

For instance, in defining a revolutionary statement, or a statement that is revolutionary, I am compelled to carry in my thought some other statement that is not, or is falsely, revolutionary, compared with which my statement is revolutionary and true; for the word, though it seem entirely absolute, is in truth relative, a mere point in the life narrative and the least significant in itself. In the sense attached to it by conservatives, revolution has no existence in fact, it is but a word; the climax of two lines of statement.

I am forced, though a monist, to assume that there is an active, energetic lie in the world and an active, energetic truth. Consciously and deliberately I deny the former, but unconsciously I know that my mind will go on assuming it because the language I have inherited and the mechanism of my mind work that way. I am therefore a revolutionist who cannot revolt. So I say, bearing this fully in view, that a revolutionary statement is mechanically the whole statement of a truth or of a lie. The lie of the world I assume to be that which is called individualism, a fallacious existence; the truth of the world I find to be that which is called social—or collectivism; and so, looking upon the mental running of all the world's thinkers, I regard them as so many paces taken each day, short or long, in the direction of either of the two points of ultimate expression, either end of the lie, or either end of the truth. That is towards revolution.

Individualism, top and bottom, for instance, when entirely stated, is imperialism in government looking down on the people, and it is anarchy from the people when looking up at the government. In other words, our friends Herr Most and the Kaiser William are the same lie as it happens to be looking up or looking down. While I, opposing both and aiming towards the

obliteration of their lie and the line it moves along, admitting that on both lines there may be good reasoners, do lay the stress of my ultimate statement on the point exactly between both—the heart of democracy. Good reasoning having nothing to do whatsoever with truth, as all reasoning is alike.

Given the point of start, the mind acts as a machine only, and the stronger that mind the sooner and clearer will be its expression of the revolutionary lie or the revolutionary truth; as we so well know in looking at such men as our Mallocks and our Herrons. History always placed the reasoner on its own point of view and gave its own revolutionary expression; and it now points to socialism as the source from which the old problems of right and wrong, good and evil, and the alleged truthing of the mind shall at last be solved.

Dualism required an absolute good and evil for its motors; monism does not; and Socialism will sternly require an all-round monistic philosophy.

Recognizing only the one human life truth of collectivism, and denying the possibility of another force there, I find the source of error to have been our leaning upon the mechanism of the mind as a discernor of truth, whereas it is only a mechanism whose results depend upon its start point. Instead of the lie being an entity, it is but an artificial form set up to produce the mechanical motion of the mind. And it looks to me as if the private property will and that alone has maintained the fake life along whose narrow gauge the human mind befooled has hitherto done its running towards revolutionary expression.

To strike the middle point between the ultimate or revolutionary expression of a lie is not the same as adopting the media via so dear to the shipshod; it is in fact the total denial of the whole as the point of affirmative departure for the revolutionary expression of truth. Not expressing truth as the antithesis of a lie; but finding its point of truth propulsion from the grave of the lie. Thus on the line of morals the individual flowers into two expressions the erring sinner who is always breaking the law, and the infallible pope who has no law to break; the full stop at the end of good and the full stop at the end of bad. How will I find a middle point between these ultimates of a lie for my revolutionary truth to start from. I will say that neither the pope is good nor this woman evil, which starts me with the general affirmation that there is neither good nor evil in one person; which leads me at once to the collective morality and its subsequent modifications. The revolutionary liar now takes a hand at my proposition which he will dualize thus. Virtue is in the collective life; the single life cannot express it; the choice left is either to deny virtue altogether, which the pessimists do (though that is

not the middle in a proposition predicating virtue) or to affirm it of the smallest possible number of persons—plus one. Thus a triangle is formed consisting of the ultra bad one—the ultra good one and the aristocratic three; and individualism drops into aristocracy by the mechanism of the mind.

But is there no more than this; is the mind, as a truthseeker, only a machine? The mind as a truthseeker is automatic, receiving its impulses from sharp, clear-cut utterances of ultimate truth, and kept within the range of truth utility by revolutionary expressions only, for without revolutionary expressions the mind of the race would sink down into the stagnant pools of aristocracy and truth would become either an exile or a despotic, "Thou shalt" having nothing to do with the mind whatever. This, all the pathetic seas of white human faces looking up and looking out from the world through the ages, tell us with moaning, "I was looking, always looking," saith the pale face of all the prayers, "Away from the world, for my law and I know not yet whether it ever came." "How could you offend God with so much praying?" answers the collective life. "Know you not that everything unnecessary is evil; and that prayer economy is as essential as political or industrial economy. Having found out that prayer was the means of accomplishing a given result; know you not that the next thing to be found out was—How little of it?"

The state organizers of praying having the sinister purpose of concealing from sufferers the entirely social and manageable nature of evils, have been themselves buffeted for ages by the revolutionary expression of their own lie. Anarchists and bishops alike have lost confidence in the state (the latter excepted in countries where the church is established by law, and is an episcopal church), faith healers, non-combatants and fanatics of all sorts insisting that heaven is the center of social gravity, insist upon ruling the world out of an ancient book, or, rather, out of their own interpretation of that ancient book. This galled the authoritarians who, in teaching the children that heaven was the true center of earth's societies, never contemplated the chances of the pupils taking it seriously, and looking beyond their instructors for heavenly authority. The ultra faith of the pupils, therefore, begot ultra unfaith in their own teachers; so that a professional prayer to God, one Malthus, a clergyman of the established Church of England, pronounces a great divorce between God and the human race, saying that man can only be saved socially by cutting him off; that there is too much of him; always was too much of him, and always will be too much of him until some means are found of cutting him down to the requirements of aristocracy.

Between these two alleged laws, the law by which everything

is run by an exile God from the heavenly outside, and the wholly godless of Malthus, which makes the battle of life to be only a hopeless struggle between an arithmetical and a geometrical ratio, two clear-cut revolutionary statements of the individualistic lie are reached. Looking between these two ultimates, viz., that God does it all, and the field does it all, what is my point of departure as the other thinker? That the center of social gravity is neither in the heavens nor in the fields, but in that which is alleged to be dependent on one or the other, that is the social itself, that both the fields and the heavens are circumferential to this.

It may be noted by any critic that this statement clothes the lie with as great a polar power as the truth, and so gives to it a fatal respectability.

To this be it replied that while the collectivist in the present proletarian movement towards the state is emphatically a home ruler, a materialist and a ward of the economic lawmaker; yet because this collectivity of his is also economic law maker and political law maker itself, it is evident that the private property basis upon which the individual lie stands must always decrease if the collective life itself be the master fact containing every other fact and thought utterable in words. I am therefore not contending with the lie of individualism as an original thought entity, but with the economic basis of it, private property in things necessary to the equal lives of others. The conflict thus resolves itself into one between two ultimate kinds of property, collective property alone and private property alone. These are not the two ends of one line, between which we are to choose a middle point. Here we have reached the last analysis, and one of these must destroy the other. As an economic process this is accomplished by weight of numbers, or the modern ballot. But prior to that accomplishment what must happen on the intellectual line? A letting go of all unknown for known forces; of all the unattainable, or doubtfully so, for the attainable, and a gathering of all divine law from social sources only. Will this be done deliberately as a device and experiment of the mind to bring about collectivity? No, it will be the net product of an always growing social intellect and of a community conscience. The private profit monger on public life, seeking like all other men the line of least difficulty in doing that which he has undertaken to do, has been teaching and practicing co-operation throughout industrial all society, thus laying the proper material basis for social thought and community conscience. The strenuous man who thinks he believes in competition, that revolutionary paradox and then goes on to prove in business and at home that he will have none of it, adds to his lie a great corollary, that conflict being the law of the personal life, ambition, like a cartridge box, is given to every man to suc-


ceed with. Flatly the collectivist can deny, as I do now, that ambition is the universal passion, the universal passion is to please. This, under false conditions, has led to do evil to please the evil; but in time it will seek, not so much the quality of pleasing as the quantity who are pleased; it will seek the pleasing of the greatest number. This ambition to please and the powerful instinct for organization now being laid so deeply into our social fibre; the social intellect; the community conscience allied with collective property will soon and surely knock the stilts from under the aristocrat egoist of private property. The economical law which eternally forbids any creature to do a thing the difficult way after he has discovered the easier way, presses us all forward irretrievably to more collective production and most collective production, and to the necessary collective thinking, the amenities of collective sharing and the powers of the collective conscience. This has not been a pressure originating with machinery. Machinery was no accident. Sooner or later that was sure to come to this race which does the world's work most easily, for we move ever along the line of least waste, and the least resistance. The revolutionary lie opposing this world truth is the lie of the strenuous life, the lie which tells us that difficulties are the meat and drink which make souls. The race will get along without private difficulties, even if it must get along without private souls; and it may perhaps learn to do with its souls what it has done with everything else, unite them all into one great social quality.

We are no more making our laws but our laws are making our lives as ever they have done. There is a law around us unfolding us into a harmonious expression of itself through our myriads of brains and voices; it is the historical urge that has driven the race from ego to the family and through many other economic and political group units up to the final pair, the two economic revolutionary ultimates, capital and labor. And this law energy around the human family will go on accomplishing itself forever, until class no more shall own class, and all are one.

Peter E. Burrowes.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

In Its Economic Epochs, Reviewed from the Standpoint of Historic Materialism.

 O people who rightfully may claim to represent the intelligence of this nation, the historic philosophy of Karl Marx is no longer a sealed book, since we have two English versions of Frederick Engels' work, "Die Entwicklung des Socialisms von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft"). This work, besides being the most instructive of all contained in English Socialist literature, gives an especially comprehensive and lucid exposition of the conception of history as discovered by the organizer of the International Workingmen's Association.

The theory of Marx presents itself as a philosophical view of the historic process in general, and we shall try to apply this theory as a means to bring about a better understanding of the very forces that are underlying and working out the development of the history of the United States. Put in the briefest terms the formula of the theory in question is as follows:

The economic structure of society, as given in the mode of production of the time under consideration, is the real basis upon which is built not only the political but also the juridical, the moral and religious and the philosophical superstructure—in a word, the entire ideologic superstructure.

The problem before us is to unveil the relations that may exist between the political and other phenomena as they appear on the surface of recorded history on the one hand, and the material and economic forces that are, according to the materialistic conception, supposed to be working at the bottom as the causal potencies in the process of making history on the other hand. In the light of this view we shall especially consider the causal agencies which were instrumental in originating the following great changes and events, namely:

(1) The separation of the American colonies from England and the revolutionary war; the establishment of American independence, and the foundation of the United States;

(2) The rise and decline of political parties, and the reasons of their demands as proclaimed in their platforms; the civil war and its apparent cause;

(3) The further development of the Republican and the Democratic parties; rise and decline of reform movements and parties; the labor movement; strikes and lockouts; spread of trades unionism;

(4) The most recent political development of the United

States; virtual repudiation of the Jeffersonian democracy; rise of an expansion policy that turns to adventurous pursuits on other than the American continents or islands; imperialism—the leading spirit in our foreign policy.

As will be seen from the foregoing propositions we shall confine ourselves in this essay to a consideration of the historical development only as far as the political phenomena of the economic causes are concerned. If thereby the other features of the social superstructure, the ethical and juridical, the philosophical and literary, receive no consideration here, it is due wholly to proper regard to the necessarily limited amount of space the editor of the *International Socialist Review* can allow the writer. It is obvious also that the same restriction must be observed in the presentation of the matter, as far as it actually goes, and that, accordingly, only a sketch of this entire matter is here attempted.

FIRST EPOCH.

AMERICAN INDUSTRIES UNDER FOREIGN BONDAGE—THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

The history of the North American colonies of England is essentially the history of economic repression on the part of the mother country. Very early the rule of the British bourgeoisie in their American possessions bore the stamp of modern colonial policy, the characteristic feature of which is the attempt to restrain the commercial and industrial life in a new country. In their economic development the colonies were not to advance to a degree that would enable them to supply their wants from their own markets alone; of course, solely with the view of compelling them to buy merchandise from their loving uncles in the old country and thus remain continuously victimized by a foreign system of vampirical exploitation. That such repression policy would become intolerable to the colonists requires no proof, as the pertinent facts are well known to the American readers.

It was a question of life or death for the American bourgeoisie, then in its infancy, to shake off the British yoke. This was primarily necessary only in the domain of commerce and material production, for there alone was it that England's colonial policy was most annoying and was to become finally unbearable to the people of this country.

Or, to express it more pointedly: the pioneer people of our nation had either to break the chains of coercion used by British capitalists, to force them to buy and consume imported English merchandise, and thus free themselves from the economic bondage as decreed by the laws on navigation and regulating trades,

or they would never rise to industrial and commercial independence and be able to advance their own material interests.

"Might makes right." That is the most pointed and accurate expression of an important, historically necessary fact; the condition it describes is an essential feature of the up-to-date social development. The saying is not less true and good because the ideologists of the middle class and the "me-too" Socialists of the humanitarian type so emphatically denounce it, by pouring over it their sickly sentimentalism. At that time, as to-day, the suffering and oppressed masses had but a more or less indistinct idea of this right-making power of might. As it was, the colonists saw themselves confronted by the imposing appearance of a political power used for economic purposes, and it was natural enough that they sought, as an antidote, representation in the London parliament with the object of freeing themselves from industrial dependence. It required the immanent dialectics of the conditions and things to impel the movement beyond the dead point of its originally naive aims and objects, and gradually to develop it to a really revolutionary struggle, in an effort for national political independence. And this political independence was in turn to become a powerful lever for the uplifting of economic independence; it was a mainstay to its protection. It was, in a word, for a great end the equally great means.

However, the leaders of the rebellion did not, at the beginning, see thus far, and that explains their cry, "No taxation without representation." Were this all that they desired, King George III. would have come off cheaply by granting them concessions over whose virtual worthlessness they could not have complained from the standpoint of fairness; for, no matter how liberal the allowance of seats in parliament might have been, the small population of the colonies would not have given the Americans, for decades to come, a sufficient number of representatives to make any effectual opposition against their oppressors, to say nothing of gaining a majority. In short, representation in parliament could not prevent the commercial and industrial activities of the colonies from being choked to death by further taxation and trade regulation from London, nor save them from being curbed to the extent of shutting out competition with the British imports.

And so we see, the slogan of "No taxation without representation" was practically senseless. To reach their goal, the American rebels had to deny the Westminster parliament every power of taxation over the colonies, and at the same time, stop all interference of police authorities in the fields of trade and commerce of the country. Although the rising bourgeoisie was not able to grasp immediately and radically the scope of the ex-

isting conditions it gradually dawned upon them, that in their groping after economic progress, it was just those British uncles who so flatly obstructed their path. The uncles should go.

And now comes the political history and says:

They had to go.

If now we take the sum total of the presentation given above, the contemporary political history easily explains itself as the revolutionary enforcement of purely material interests, that is, the interests of the propertied and ruling classes of that period.

And in perfect accord with the requirements of these interests, the essential contents of the whole political history of the thirteen colonies up to 1789 consists of one great national action, to-wit:

Rebellion against England; War of the Revolution for national independence; forming of the United States of America.

SECOND EPOCH.

COTTON'S KINGDOM AND ITS DECLINE.

"You dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dare make war on it. Cotton is king."

Cotton, i. e., the interests of the Southern cotton lords; the interests that, for seven decades, constituted the governing power of the country.

The quotation is from a speech made by James H. Hammond, of South Carolina, in 1858, in the House of Representatives. It was a challenge from the Southern feudalism to the capitalism of the North. The former then strode with giant strides throughout the South and over the seas; the latter, still having a foothold only in the Northern States, toddled yet in its first steps.

Aside from rhetorical exaggeration, this assertion of Hammond's was quite correct at the time when it was made, and for two or three years later. Thereafter, however, things changed, and war was made on the cotton interests.

The second epoch in our historical review commences about the middle of the nineties of the eighteenth century, that is, at the time when the employment of the cotton gin in the South had become general, and it extends to the early sixties of the last century when Abraham Lincoln had been elected, and taken office. This election was the last word of a declaration of war on King Cotton's rule which, of course, was in the nature of an economic supremacy:

During this period the manufacturing trades remained in an infantile state of development, where primitive natural economy

still prevailed, and small progress only was made on the lines to the higher stage of the production of goods for sale. There were hardly any manufacturing industries of notable dimensions, and only towards the end of this period did the system of producing merchandise grow to a considerable efficiency. In agriculture, progress was faster, but, it was, at the outset, restricted to the domain of cotton cultivation.

However, looking back to the time before the application of the machine just mentioned, the difficulties then encountered in the harvesting of the product were extremely discouraging. The separation of the seed from the fiber was a very tedious and time-absorbing work when done by hand. So long as this was done by hand, the value of the labor incorporated in the cotton fiber was too high to permit of a satisfactory exchange in money for it. The labor of the slaves, cheap as it was, did not pay under such conditions. Thus, the use of slaves threatened to be confined to the work of domestic servants. For this purpose, however, there were already more than enough negroes in the country; 600,000 in the Southern States and 40,000 in the Northern. If besides using them for harvesting, the South was not also able to employ them in the work of separating the seed from the cotton, then the Southern ruling class were no longer interested in maintaining slavery. It was by one of those seeming paradoxes in the logic of events, that sometimes occur in the history of the world, that destined the inventive genius of a Yankee, Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, to repair and strengthen the life of an institution, that the North afterwards, with Massachusetts at the head, had to destroy.

The results gained from Eli Whitney's "Cotton Gin" were already in their first consequences of more far-reaching significance than was any other technical improvement up to that time. With a tremendous bound this new machine not only changed the whole method of growing and cleaning cotton, but also that of working this raw material into cotton cloth, etc. And not alone this; the generally prevailing views, i. e., in moral, religious and philosophical ideas, in juridical conceptions, and lastly also in the politics of great centers of population, both in America and England, everything was revolutionized. For, now, with this new machine it was suddenly made possible for the labor of the slaves to produce goods which just met the market demands for a cheap clothing material, and so became salable in enormous quantities. In consequence of this memorable change in the means of production the labor of the slaves now became, what it had not before been, i. e., labor creating abundant surplus wealth for the slave owners, and thus the institution of slavery

turned from a source of disappointment into one of the invaluable treasures of the Southern dominating class.

Cotton cultivation had scarcely begun on a new and extended scale when the home market proved itself incapable of disposing of more than a very small part of the product. But, to make continuous headway in foreign markets, and especially to sell American cotton to the English manufacturers, still another requirement had to be obtained and, when given, had to be protected against certain antagonistic interests. That which the South most urgently needed was protection against—protective policy. She wanted free trade. For, the interests of the cotton planters and shippers imperatively demanded that the American vessels, after having conveyed cotton to Liverpool, should not return with empty bottoms, but be laden with return-freight, and particularly that these should consist chiefly of manufactured goods. In this way the cost of exporting cotton would be lessened by the corresponding expense chargeable to the account of importing industrial merchandise. Accordingly, the interests of the South demanded a free trade or low tariff policy which, like the head of Janus, showed two faces, the laughing face turned to herself whilst the tearful one would look to the North. On the other hand, it was just this factor of industrial return-freight which was responsible for the existence at that time of a mercantile marine that required no subsidies from the government. In short, a high tariff meant utter ruin for the planters and exporters of cotton under the then prevailing conditions. Finally, a battle royal ensued between King Cotton and King Cotton Goods, the latter term being taken to comprise the manufacturing interests in their entirety. In the factory, the labor of the slaves was so inferior to free labor, in skill and attention, as well as in intelligence used, that it could not profitably be employed; especially in the making of the finer grades of goods which alone were suitable for export. Consequently, King Cotton Goods—the manufacturing capitalist, had nothing to lose in the abolition of slavery; but, on the contrary, was compelled to center all his efforts in keeping his rival from further extending his domain; crush out the Southern tendency to free trade, and pave the way to a permanent establishment of the high tariff system.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE EPOCH—A WAR BETWEEN KINGS.

During the whole of this period, the battles of the political parties seemingly turned only about the question of state rights, but at the bottom of this controversy was nothing but the struggle of the opposing material interests of different classes, in one word, a class struggle. This class struggle was operating as a relentlessly spurring economic impulse to political action. When we see that, in 1792, a law was enacted by Congress, prohibiting the

importation of negro slaves after the beginning of the year 1808, and that this measure received the consent of the Southern rulers, the seeming contradiction is easily explained by remembering the hopeless condition in the production of cotton as it prevailed before the cotton gin came into general use, and that the cotton planters, lacking then the possibility of separating the seed from the fiber without excessive cost, had well nigh lost all interest in the preservation of slavery.

As soon as the cotton gin came into operation, the whole political aspect changed. Thanks to the economic revolution which resulted from the use of this mechanical device, that is, from a new stage in the mode of production, the Democratic-Republican party, afterwards called the Democratic party, had already, in 1800, acquired so much economic power, and thereby, also political power, as to enable it to gain and retain the presidency and a majority in Congress, excepting for two interruptions as to Congress (in 1841 to 1844 and 1848 to 1852). Acting as the political bodyguard of King Cotton, this party managed to defeat every high tariff measure and effectually protect his interests against the commercial policy of the Northern manufacturers. Nor did the people of the North at this time take any stock in the idea of abolishing slavery, save in a few isolated instances. When the Abolitionists, with their purely ideological and humanitarian agitation came forward, it was not only in the South that they were denounced as traitors and unmitigatingly persecuted; even in the North they were driven from the public meeting halls and platforms by furious mobs, and as it happened to Lloyd Garrison in Boston, they many times had narrow escapes from being stoned or lynched. Then, after John Brown and his associates of Harper's Ferry, had been legally murdered by the combined powers of the Federal government and the State of Virginia, what did the Northern people do? What did the Republican party do or, at least, say? Under this name the party of industrial capitalism, the party of the manufacturing interests, had been formed in 1854. The Abolitionists, while they certainly did not fail to give the new party their support, amounted to practically nothing as a component part. So far was the Republican party even in 1860 from sympathy with the victims of Southern-Democratic class justice that their national platform, on which Abraham Lincoln was elected, contains a passage which is unequivocally directed against the invasion of Virginia by John Brown; the sentence reads: "and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes." Furthermore, when Congress empowered President Lincoln to issue the proclamation of September, 1862,

declaring all slaves in the rebel States as freemen and emancipating them from involuntary bondage, it was nothing more than a tactical measure in warfare. This proclamation was issued under the expressed condition that it should only take effect if the rebel forces would not have given up the fight prior to the date set.

Through the outcome of the war, the final result of this epoch was sealed with the blood of hundreds of thousands of men: it was the victory of the more modern form of exploitation of men by men; it was the ascendancy of capitalism "pure and simple" to the throne of political power; it was the inauguration of a new and higher slave-holding class to the position of the actual ruler of this country.

J. L. Franz.

(To be continued.)

EDITORIAL

The Impossibilist.

Who came first, the "Impossibilist" or the "Opportunist," is as hard to solve as the old problem of the priority of the hen and the egg. Each appears to be but a reaction from the other, and it is almost certain that neither could exist without its antithesis as an "awful example." Still it is not quite true to say, in hackneyed phrase, that they represent two extremes, between which lies the truth. There is no salvation in "meliorism" as such any more than in "extremeism." Only facts and their logical interpretation and consideration are certain, and these lead as oft to what are called extreme conclusions as to those commonly called moderate.

Impossibilism, like opportunism, cannot be reduced to a system. Both have as many manifestations as there are ways of illogical interpretation, insufficient knowledge, or willful overlooking of facts. They are rather tendencies or attitudes to be described than systems to be defined and explained.

At bottom Impossibilism seems to be mainly characterized by a sort of competitive contest as to "who dast go furthestest." In what direction the going is to be done is seldom clear, but from the condition in which many of its followers appear to be, it would seem that they generally went straight up.

Recognizing the absolute necessity and paramount importance of political organization, and disgusted with the disrupting, disintegrating tendencies of "unaffiliated" Socialists and "Socialistic" organizations, they jump at once to the conclusion, first, that the party, and, second, just the particular form of party organization to which they have become accustomed, is greater than the whole Socialist movement. They absolutely lose sight of the fact that the party is but a means to an end and must be altered as the conditions necessary to approach that end alter.

They become, not simply conservative, but reactionary, obstructing all attempts to change the form of organization to accord with economic development. Thus it often comes about that those who constantly and ostentatiously pride themselves upon their "revolutionary" attitude become the greatest obstacles to any forward movement—mere stumbling blocks on the road to progress. Lacking all ability to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, they cling fast to old forms of activity, organization and agitation long after these have wholly ceased to be effective.

"Municipalization and nationalization have proven to be of little

interest to the laboring class," is the story of the facts. "I will 'go further' than that," says the Impossibleist. "They are a positive injury to the workers," he shouts. He thus throws himself directly into the hands of the great capitalist and helps, as much as he has any effect whatever, to perpetuate capitalism.

Because trade-unions are imperfect in their methods of fighting, and labor leaders are occasionally corrupt, Socialists demand that the methods shall be improved and completed by the addition of political action, and the rank and file made intelligent enough to render fakirs impossible. Again the Impossibleist proposes to "go further" into the air and demands the abolition of unions root and branch, or else wastes his breath in ridiculous howlings about "fakirs." The effect of such tactics being, as before, the exact opposite of that intended. The union members identify themselves, their union and their interests with the officers whom they have chosen, and rally to the support of those officers and the position of the "fakir" is strengthened.

Sometimes this attack on the union movement takes another and perhaps even more ridiculous turn. Having learned the truth that the revolt of the laborers is coming in obedience to their material interests, he "goes further" once more and declares that the worse off the workers are the quicker they will revolt. Having gone so far he soon takes another step, or leap, in the same direction and announces that the condition of the working class is constantly growing worse and that, therefore, the revolt is coming closer. Once again he has become so radical as to be reactionary and (violent Marxian as he usually claims to be) he is all unknowingly championing the long exploded LaSallian fallacy of the "increasing misery of the proletariat."

Such persons always close their eyes to the fact that never yet has there been such a thing as an intelligently revolutionary slum proletariat. It is the fact of exploitation, not the degree of misery, that rouses to rebellion.

Always full of denunciation of the "Utopian" many an Impossibleist has figured out the exact course of social evolution with a detail that makes Bellamy's efforts in those lines appear like the merest generalizations. He always knows exactly what is going to happen and through whom it is coming to pass. Having once settled the course of economic evolution and arranged for coming events according to his fixed program, he is then prepared to compel the facts to arrange themselves in his pigeon-holes.

The next step is the creation and maintenance of an esprit de corps fanatically committed to the aforesaid program. The proper discipline is secured by a liberal application of a club called "muddledom." The undeniable fact that the American Socialist movement shows plenty of places where the application of such a club is necessary makes its use for such ignoble purposes easier.

Once the law is established that whoever does not understand and accept the full truth of Socialism is "muddled" and hence should be cast into eternal damnation, the next step for whoever wishes to grasp the reigns of a little brief authority is to proclaim the muddled character of all save those who accept his "orthodoxy." When this position is grafted upon the spirit of competitive daring already in

existence the rulers can appeal to the "rank and file" with absolute certainty of endorsement and "democratic" vindication.

At this point the majority of American Socialists will find their minds naturally turning toward De Leon and the S. L. P. as an example of the development here traced. But the S. L. P. is to-day little more than an illustration in pathological psychology. It is well-nigh powerless for either good or bad and hence requires no consideration. But these same tendencies are found elsewhere and wherever they are found they deaden and destroy all with which they come in contact.

Believing as we do that the future of American Socialism lies along the line of uncompromising revolutionary tactics, our strongest objection to the Impossibilist and Impossibilism is the aid and comfort which it gives to Opportunism. If once the Opportunist can succeed in forcing his opponents into accepting the Impossibilist position, his victory is assured, as such a position admits of no defense.

This is the real secret of the kindly feeling which many of our Opportunist comrades have shown towards the S. L. P. So long as that party existed as an "awful example" it was their most effective argument against those who oppose all compromise. Now that this the most effective weapon of Opportunism is disappearing, some of the comrades within the Socialist Party seem anxious to supply the deficiency.

This magazine has been designated by the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels as the official American organ for the publication of the bulletins of the bureau. Two of these appear in this present number. These bulletins are only furnished to one publication in each country and are not supplied to the daily press. They will constitute a continuous history of the Socialist movement of the world and taken in connection with our staff of foreign correspondents and our regular foreign department will make the International Socialist Review absolutely essential to anyone who wishes to keep in touch with the whole Socialist movement.

In this connection it might be worth while to say a word concerning the pains which we take to make this side of the Review of the highest possible standard. In the first place we have the excellent staff of foreign correspondents referred to above, and exchange with all the leading Socialist publications of the world. In addition to this we patronize an Austrian periodical clipping bureau with instructions to clip everything bearing on Socialism appearing in any European publication not on our exchange list. In this way we receive about one thousand such clippings monthly. It is probable that nowhere in the world is there a greater amount of regular information concerning the Socialist movement received than at this office. It is this which makes our publication more than almost any other published an International Socialist Review.

Comrade Max S. Hayes has been nominated by Cleveland Typographical Union for delegate to the American Federation of Labor. The election takes place on May 31, and we hope that every Socialist member

of the International Typographical Union will give their hearty support to his candidacy. This is a matter of importance to all Socialists, both inside and outside of that trade, and to all union men, whether Socialists or not. He stands for all that is progressive and vital in both trades-unionism and Socialism, and his election should be made unanimous.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

E. Untermann.

Belgium.

The fight for proletarian emancipation, begun in 1886 with the organization of the Parti Ouvrier and resulting in the introduction of the plural voting system in 1893, is now reaching a critical climax in the agitation for universal suffrage. In spite of the plural system, which gives the clerical party three votes for every Socialist vote, the Parti Ouvrier gained ground so rapidly that the clericals attempted to introduce proportional representation in the industrial centers only, in connection with the plural system, in order to counterbalance the effect of Socialist propaganda. The measure was defeated. Proportional representation was made universal and the clericals were in a worse fix than ever. This much gained, the Socialists devoted themselves with renewed energy to the agitation for universal suffrage.

The introduction of this measure means the end of the monarchy, of clerical rule and of capitalism in Belgium. With one man one vote, the Socialist party alone would be soon strong enough to carry any election. But the end of profits and class rule is to the ruling class synonymous with the end of the world. Therefore they obstinately refuse to make way for a government of the people, even to the point of bloodshed.

The Socialists, true to their traditions, seek to accomplish their aims by parliamentary measures. Not being sufficiently represented in parliament, they need the assistance of the liberals. The latter made their help dependent on the conditions that the Socialists should not declare the general strike, and that the question of female suffrage should not be considered until after the victory of manhood suffrage.

Shortly before the final contest in parliament, the Socialists rallied in national convention to muster their forces and define their position on these questions. Seven hundred delegates attended. It was unanimously decided to drop female suffrage for the sake of winning manhood suffrage first. The refusal of this suffrage by the government was to be answered by the general strike, and the attempt to suppress the latter by force was to mean a revolution. The female comrades sanctioned this plan after a spirited discussion, in which a strong self-reliance and a tendency to mistrust the liberals were shown.

The fight in parliament began. "First the budget," said the government. "First a revision of the constitution," the Socialists. The voting on the budget would be followed by the closing of the session and the postponement of the whole question for another year. The revision of

the constitution before the budget would leave the government up in the air without funds. Both sides were obstinate. The Socialists, assisted the deliberations by public demonstrations, in which from 50,000 to 200,000 inhabitants of Brussels took part. The government replied by threats of bloodshed. Result: Compromise. First the budget and then revision of the constitution before the closing of the session.

The budget was discussed and voted with a few amendments demanded by the Socialists. The demonstrations of the opposition continued. The government distributed ammunition to the troops. And now the old, old tragedy is re-enacted. Concessions to the opposition would mean the defeat of the king, the clericals and capitalism. None will be made, therefore. Nothing will be obtained by parliamentary action. That is a foregone conclusion. Still the farce must be enacted. The discussion begins. The intention to oppose the demands of the people and to use all legal and illegal means for this purpose is plainly revealed. The people grew excited. The police are called out and the familiar trick of provoking the hot-headed is used with the usual result: A few killed and wounded on both sides. The passions are stirred.

Reports of incendiarism and pillage are circulated by the clerical press. The provocations are continued by police agents in such a flagrant manner that even the bourgeois spirit demurs. The whole sinister and foul game played by the reaction in the Paris Commune is re-enacted in all its repulsive details. The purpose still hallows the means, even in the twentieth century. Some Spanish delegates to the Socialist convention are expelled by the "department of public safety." An immense crowd of Socialists accompanies them to the railway station, carrying red flags and singing the Marseillaise. King Leopold happens to return at the same time from his spree in Biarritz. The Socialists surround his automobile and wave their red banners in his face. What a feast for the capitalist press!

The reserves are called out. They sing the Marseillaise and shout: "We will not shoot the people." The regulars are shut up in the barracks, because the government cannot trust them. The Civil Guards attend the meetings in the Maison du Peuple. Only the gendarmes and a few crack regiments are intrusted with the noble task of butchering the people.

The Socialists and liberals are voted down in parliament. The Socialists declare the general strike. Three hundred thousand organized laborers walk out in a body. The wheels of production and distribution stop. More provocations and street riots, in which no member of the Socialist party takes part, except for the purpose of calming the people, and in which the Socialists are singled out as special victims. The funeral of these offers further opportunities for more provocations. Barricades are built around the Maison du Peuple. Prominent Socialists are arrested and attacked by the police. Attempts to release them result in more dead and wounded. Brussels is placed under martial law. Contributions for the strikers come in from all sides, even from the bourgeois element.

In order to leave no stone unturned for the peaceful solution of the crisis, the Socialists appeal to the king. In vain. On the next morning, the front page of "Le Peuple" shows the following headlines, bordered

with heavy black: "On massacre a Bruxelles." They are butchering in Brussels.

Yet the Socialists remain calm and dignified, as shown by the following manifesto: "They are murdering in Brussels. They are murdering in the provinces. The government, despairing of arresting the movement for universal suffrage by other means, tries to suppress it by terror and drown it in blood. Comrades! Do not fall into the trap set by the reaction. Don't give your enemies any pretext for bloody repression. We entreat you to be calm and cool, but more than ever we appeal to your energy and to your self-sacrifice. * * * To the bloody and hateful brutality of the police and gendarmes, the working class replies composedly, with the only legal weapon it has left: The General Strike. We ask only for one thing: the abolition of electoral privileges that are a constant violation of justice and of the dignity of the working class. We have sworn to conquer political equality. The hour has come to keep our oath. Onward for Universal Suffrage!"

For the rest we are confined to capitalist press reports. It is said that the Socialists have called the general strike off at the instance of the liberals. That would indicate a continuation of the deliberations in parliament. Later dispatches, however, declare that parliament has been dissolved and that new elections will be held before the question will be discussed any further. We reproduce these reports with due caution.

Germany.

The results of the unemployed census taken by the Socialists of Berlin, now published in the Vorwaerts, reveal an appalling situation. The following figures speak for themselves:

Men unemployed or partly employed in Berlin.....	48,351
Women	11,287
Men, in suburbs	8,871
Women	1,622

Total 70,131

The unemployed have 47,671 children, those partly employed 50,909 children to provide for, making a total of 168,711 human beings, not counting the mothers, whom the competitive system has left face to face with hunger, cold, disease and crime in this rich and luxurious city which they have helped to build.

The better classes have only sneers and contempt for these sufferers. Their press denounces the census as Socialist swindle. "How many habitual shirkers have you counted in as unemployed?" is one of the smart questions by which the capitalist papers seek to belittle these figures. The statistics giving the numbers of days, weeks and months lost by the unemployed give a plain answer. A glance at the tables shows that an exceptional situation has thrown these unfortunates out of work. The greatest number have been out of work for two or three months, a total of 10,769 men and women in Berlin alone; 13,894 men and women had been idle for one to two months when the census was

taken, and 10,525 for one month; 7,244 had been out of work for four months, 2,210 for five months, and 1,946 for six months, on the day of the census.

Of those partly employed 20,025 lost 12 hours per week, 6,371 lost from 13 to 18 hours per week, 4,409 lost from 19 to 24 hours per week, and 5,824 lost 25 hours and more per week.

There were only 863 men and women who had been idle for more than one year. But even these were old residents of Berlin and could not be classed as tramps. It is plain that such a condition among such a large number of workers is directly traceable to the commercial crisis, not to voluntary idleness. If there are any shirkers in Berlin, the capitalist press will have to look for them in its own camp.

As usual, the scissors of the police have been busy on the ribbons of the wreaths deposited on the graves of the victims of 1848. Some of the most "dangerous" inscriptions were clipped entirely, others were mutilated. "We should be doing violence to the truth," says Vorwaerts, "if we were to tell you that we are sorry for this. If anything is apt to revolutionize the minds, it is this spirit of guardianship working with the mechanism of red tape and assuming the role of Providence. Under the most unrestricted freedom of speech our best speakers would not be able to teach the workmen their duty as well as the police do with their scissors. While not our strongest adversary, the police are one of the most conspicuous enemies of Socialism. They have done a great deal for us so far, but we like them best with the censor's scissors in their hands."

The Socialist vote in Karlsruhe increased from 2,500 fusion votes in 1898 to 3,299 straight votes in the recent city elections. The combined capitalist parties polled 3,364 votes. "No more compromise for us," writes the Volksfreund.

Socialists in Koenigsberg, hitherto represented by four municipal councillors, elected a fifth councillor with a majority of 100, and missed electing another by a minority of one.

The growth of Socialism in the rural districts is gratifying. Gerdauen (Prussia) had no Socialist votes in 1887. In 1893 it polled 675 Socialist votes, in 1898 3,263, and in the recent after-election to the reichstag it gained an increase of 355. In Marienburg the agrarian candidate won by a majority of 15, the Socialists gaining 500. At the landtag elections in Gera (Reuss) the Socialist candidate, Patzer, won out with 427 votes against 377 capitalist votes.

A Liebknecht monument was unveiled on the grave of the "old man" in Berlin.

Russia.

Revolutionary demonstrations continue in Russia. The majority of university professors and students have no longer any faith in the honest intentions of the government. In all parts of the country agitation leaflets are found. "We shall only get our rights by incessant fighting," so they say. "There will be no academic freedom as long as despotism rules. The transformation of the whole system is the only remedy." A

congress of all students' organizations succeeded in meeting and planning far-reaching measures for Socialist propaganda.

There are signs of mutiny in the army. A conspiracy of high officers has been discovered. The troops refuse to shoot the people. A manifesto of the revolutionary committee addressed to the Russian officers concludes with these words: "Down with the government and court intriguers! Don't kill your brothers and sisters! We trust in you! We believe that your hearts are not devoted to officialdom and that your honesty has not given way to class assumption. We shall meet again! We, in the foremost ranks of the opposition; you, in the foremost ranks of the army that is sent against us—not to exchange blows in fratricidal war, but to clasp hands as brothers and unite in the shout: Down with the clique at court! Down with the reactionary ministry! Hurrah for the Russia of the people!

Siberia is also making strenuous efforts to become civilized. Hardly has Russian autocracy made a step toward Socialism by completing the trans-Siberian railroad, when we are suddenly and agreeably surprised by the report that the Siberian Socialists are also taking a step ahead by organizing a party. The Russian authorities, however, resent this step. We read of wholesale arrests for the purpose of stamping out this organization, which is of necessity a secret one. At the same time the Bismarckian Socialist on the despot's throne and his minister Witte, who built and are managing this railroad, are praised as benefactors of mankind. Yet it is a crime for the proletarian Socialists to save society from the horrors of an anarchist revolution by educating the desperate elements created by this capitalist step toward Socialism.

England.

The English Socialists recently met in national convention, but there were two of them. The Independent Labor party met in Liverpool, the Social Democratic Federation in Blackburn.

The I. L. P. convention, with 109 delegates, adopted the following resolutions: Protest against the abolition of the independent school boards; protest against the Boer war, the concentration camps, and the annexation of the South-African republics; protest against the re-introduction of the tariff system; demand for the extension of the law regarding accidents of labor; demand for the municipalization of the public houses. A motion to unite with the S. D. F. was rejected by 69 against 40 votes. No financial report was made public.

Keir Hardie stated that there was no distinct labor group in parliament, because some representatives of labor were opposed to such a group. In consequence there was no direct connection between trade unions and labor representatives. Bruce Glasier declared that the I. L. P. had made the union men almost identical with Socialists. Would it not be well to talk first about the identity of Socialists?

The S. D. F. convention was attended by eighty-one delegates. The financial report showed an income of £648 and an expense of £440. This does not include the cost of the candidacy of Quelch in Dewsbury, which cost £415. The following resolutions were adopted: Telegram to I. L. P. convention expressing fraternal sentiments and the hope for

a speedy consolidation of the two forces; indorsement of the policy of "boring from within" in the trade unions by 70 votes against 7; participation in the next general elections with at least four candidates. A substitute for the trade union motion recommending the adoption of De Leon's S. T. and L. A. tactics was voted down by 71 against 10.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Glass-blowing machines are being placed in the factory of the American Window Glass Company, in Alexandria, say dispatches from the Indiana glass belt, and when the factory is again placed in operation 300 former employes will be displaced. Window glass workers of this city have been of the opinion that something of this nature was contemplated by the company, and to-day it was made certain by a visit of a delegation of blowers to the factory, which is located two miles from the city. When the men arrived at the factory a board fence twelve feet high confronted them. The big gates were locked and four strands of barbed wire is strung on the top of the fence to keep inquisitive visitors from the inside. An investigation was begun and it was found that five carloads of machinery, connected with the blowing machines, were on a nearby sidetrack. These discoveries dispelled all former doubt, and the window glass blower now knows that he is to come into competition with improved machinery in his trade at the next fire, if not sooner. But the Tribune does not add the fact that the workers of Alexandria, Muncie, Marion, Anderson and other cities are taking political action along the lines of Socialism to obtain control of machinery.

The census figures for manufacturing have been completed for 33 States and Territories, says a Denver paper. They show that the average wages for all laborers in the manufacturing industries were 8 per cent lower in 1900 than in 1890. In these 33 States and Territories 1,004,590 wage earners received an average of \$418.48 cents each a year or \$1.39 a day in 1890. In the same States and Territories in 1900 1,463,365 wage earners received an average of \$387.63 each a year or \$1.29 a day. In some of the greatest manufacturing States, where the trusts are most powerful, the decline in wages has been greater. New Jersey's industries paid an average of \$2.24 a day in 1890 and only \$1.52 a day in 1900, the decline being 32 per cent. On the other hand, the compilation of prices in Dun's Review for last January showed that the cost of living now is nearly 7 per cent higher than 1900, and more than 11 per cent higher than in 1890. The compilation includes food of all kinds, clothing, metals, etc. The average factory worker, therefore, is receiving 8 per cent less wages than in 1890, and is spending from 4 to 11 per cent more for cost of living.

It turns out that the victory gained by union labor in the decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri, to the effect that workingmen have a right to boycott, is rather a barren affair. The case has been in

court for four years, and no injunction was lifted because none had been granted. Summed up, the Missouri case resolves itself into this: If an injunction is sprung against a boycotting union by a lower court, it will require a small barrel of money and four years of time to bring the case to an issue. The bosses would have no fault to find with such a proceeding.

A Pittsburg correspondent writes that in the Monongahela tin-plate mill of the United Steel Corporation the old machinery is being torn out to give place to an automatic device that creates nothing short of a revolution in the tin-plate industry. Under the old system the plate must pass through various machines that are operated by seven men. The new device is to be operated by two men only, and it is expected that they will turn out as much product as 140 men and 20 old machines. The trust officials are very guarded in their utterances about the new labor displacer, but enough information has leaked out to justify the belief that hundreds of skilled tin-plate workers will be thrown out of employment in the near future.

Victory was won by the Socialist Party at St. Petersburg, Fla. In its first campaign it has made a clean sweep, elected Mayor and all other candidates.

Judge Groesback, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Wyoming, is reported to have joined the Socialist Party.

New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals has decided that lower courts have the right to send strikers to jail for contempt where they disobey an injunction.

The new hardware trust is capitalized at \$120,000,000 and controls the principal dealers of the country.

Candy manufacturers of the country are forming a huge trust to secure "stability" of prices.

The tube trust is going to dismantle several more mills and centralize its work.

The A. F. of L. during the first quarter of 1902, issued charters to two national bodies, 16 central bodies, 64 federal unions and 30 local trade unions. Considering that during this time 88 national unions were issuing charters to their respective crafts from two to twenty each, it can be readily seen to what extent trade unionism is growing.

Henry Clews, the New York financial authority, wrote to the Milwaukee Daily News, that the trust magnates are overloaded with watered stock, and are only waiting for an opportunity to unload on an unsuspecting public, and when they do the inevitable crash will come.

Milwaukee cooks were injunctioned at the request of a Chinese restaurant-keeper.

The trust magnates continue to reach out for daily newspapers. John W. Gates is reported to have secured possession of the Chicago

Inter Ocean, Morgan is dickering in New York, Senator Clark now owns the six leading paper in Montana, J. J. Hill owns the leading dailies in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Seattle, and other plutes are gradually absorbing stock of daily papers in various cities. As matters now stand, they control the foremost organs indirectly, but they want to own them outright.

A \$12,000,000 sash door trust is one of the very latest.

Bakers at Kansas City have been injunctioned.

Walter Thomas Mills, the eloquent Socialist orator, is delivering a series of Sunday lectures, to extend from April 6 to June the 8th, in the Metropolitan Temple, San Francisco. According to exchanges, the house is packed to the doors at each meeting.

The retail grocers' combine of Cincinnati will be capitalized at \$3,000,000.

Denver clerks have been permanently injunctioned from boycotting scab stores.

Rev. Lowther has been expelled by the Methodist conference held at Arkansas City, Kan., for "heresy." His real crime was being a Socialist and conducting a Socialist paper.

Strike in the Murphy Varnish Company, New Jersey, owned by Governor Murphy. He pays \$12 a week and the union scale is \$18. Did any unionist vote for Murphy?

Utah now boasts of a woman Socialist orator, Lucie Hoving, who, the papers report, is speaking to crowded houses in that State, and Idaho.

It is reported that a French tobacco worker has invented a machine which makes the head on cigars after they are rolled and does the work of about a dozen hands.

Injunction has been hurled at the striking molders of Columbus, Ohio.

The Coming Nation has started up again at Rich Hill, Mo.

Tomato canning business is to be done by a \$10,000,000 trust.

Because State Organizer Buckley tore the union badge from a scab during the teamsters' strike in Boston, he was sentenced to serve six months in prison. The judge was elected by labor votes.

The U. S. Steel corporation is reaching out for the Monongahela coal trust, the National Steel trust, the tin-can trust and several other important combines. The octopus is getting fat.

In Porto Rico the work of organization is going forward rapidly. Santiago Iglesias, has organized many unions, which have become attached to the A. F. of L, and a labor paper has been established which appears twice a week. There is a big strike on sugar plantations near Monita. Some of the workers unfurled an American flag and started a parade, but were arrested, just as the poor Fili-

pinos were imprisoned for scattering copies of the Declaration of Independence. The capitalistic politicians in control care nothing for "Old Glory," the Declaration of Independence, the constitution or anything else.

A. M. Marshall, of Duluth, one of the main guys in the new \$120,-000,000 hardware trust, says the labor organizations are responsible for present high prices, and that the new combine was founded in self-defense. Wow!

Brother Morgan, chief organizer of trusts, is getting busy again. A New York dispatch says the Westinghouse, General Electric, Niagara Falls and other electrical combines are to be merged into one huge trust, somewhat after the plan pursued in forming the United States Steel Corporation.

A few years ago George J. Kindel, a Denver manufacturer, started a great "reform" in the shape of an agitation for lower railway rates. Many kind-hearted workingmen joined in the hue and cry against the "blood-sucking, tyrannical corporations," and the capitalists who would be benefited smiled approvingly and said they possessed true civic pride and unselfish patriotism. The agitation bore fruit, and the Denver capitalists made and are making quite a saving and look pleasant. Now the celebrated reformer, Mr. George J. Kindel, is busy again. He is forming a combination of capitalists to combat organized labor, and thus pile up more profits for himself and his class. And the workingman—well, he is very quiet just now. He is wondering whether he was buncoed—whether he is holding the bag. Let him think; it will do him good. Moral: Place not your faith in modern Greeks who bear gifts. They always play you for the sucker.

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union is taking a referendum vote and will undoubtedly adopt a political platform in favor of establishing the Co-operative Commonwealth. "Numerous injunctions issued against labor unions," the preamble declares, "have become in the hands of the judiciary an instrument by which the capitalist seeks to destroy the civil and political rights of the workingman. The fact is our judiciary is but a servile tool in the hands of the capitalists. The workingman can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism by constituting themselves into a political party distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the capitalistic class. Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual workers. To-day the machines are owned by the capitalists. The ownership enables the capitalists to keep the workingmen dependent upon them. The weapon used by the capitalists is the non-representative body, legislators and lawmakers, who are elected by the vote of the wage-earners. They often use the courts to enforce their ends and call on the military. The wage earner must force said weapons from the hands of the oppressing class."

The United Hatters' Association has been sued for \$250,000 damages in the United States courts by Henry Roelofs, one of the largest manufacturers of the country, who is being boycotted. Members of the union in fifteen different States are named in the action. The case,

having been commenced in the upper courts, will probably serve as a test to determine how far employers can go toward confiscating the funds of the unions and also hold members liable as individuals. Following close upon the heels of the remarkable utterance of United States Judge Baker at Indianapolis, in which he declared he would take the clothes off strikers' backs, Roelofs' move is significant.

A bottle-cleaning machine is one of the latest labor-saving devices. Bottles are run backward and forward automatically in a "bath" of chemical solution, which cleanses them of dregs, labels and tinfoil. They are automatically placed on a dryer, and afterwards delivered to a part of the apparatus called the conveyor. They are then ready for a dip into clean water. One man can attend to the machine, which cleans from 25,000 to 30,000 bottles a day. The bottle-blowers, according to dispatches, will take a longer vacation this year than usual, owing to an "overproduction," and probably in another year or two the vacations will become still longer.

The General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y., is building electric locomotives for the New York Central railroad, which are being experimented with on a two-mile track. In a lengthy interview one of the chief engineers says the tests are proving satisfactory, and he predicts that the time is coming when the distance between New York and Chicago will be annihilated in ten hours by an electric train.

Socialist Reason is the name of a neat little paper stated at Fort Scott, Kan.

The employing printers of the country are assessing themselves to create a fund of \$100,000 to enable them to make a successful stand against what, at any time, they may consider an unjust demand or a strike on the part of their employes or of the typographical organization of the country.

Russell Sage, the well-known capitalist and broker, is a recognized financial authority. Sage has uttered a note of warning. He sees a panic ahead. He illustrates one feature of industrial combination by considering a factory worth \$50,000. This factory falls into the hands of consolidators, who issue \$150,000 of stock against it and asks banks to loan \$60,000 or \$70,000 on the property that would not, in the hands of the original owner, be considered good security for more than \$10,000. "Under these circumstances," says the veteran labor-skinner, "a 'squeeze' seems to be inevitable. The clearing house is reporting, from week to week, an expansion of loans far beyond anything that was dreamed of heretofore. This cannot go on forever; yet, from all appearances, the era of consolidation has only set in. A reaction must come as soon as the banks realize the situation. A property is not worth \$50,000 one day and \$150,000 the next, simply because a company of men, no matter how big and important they are, say so." The "squeeze" will mean the toppling overboard of the middle class, and during the chaos accompanying reconstruction wage-workers will tramp the streets. They vote to uphold the system that makes them suffer.

BOOK REVIEWS

American Communities. William Alfred Hinds. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 433 pp. \$1.00.

Owing to peculiarly favorable economic conditions, America has been much more fruitful in communistic colony experiments than any other country. With the disappearance of these favorable conditions most of these communities have disappeared and there is little talk of attempting the establishment of new ones. The time is therefore at hand when their history can be written and studied free from the controversial spirit which infected all discussion of such projects a few years ago. In Mr. Hinds we seem to have secured just the proper man to write the history at this opportune moment. To a lengthy residence in one such colony he has added personal visits and investigation of many others and an exhaustive examination of all literature relating to the subject, thus securing exactly the sympathetically accurate knowledge so essential to the successful historian. The work is extremely exhaustive, covering very many colonies of whose existence the general public is wholly unaware because, while they were often larger and really more important than better known ones, they did not have the sensational features which gave the others their notoriety. Some of these less known ones, like the Ephrata colony near Reading, Pennsylvania, which was founded in 1732, have had a continuous existence of over a century. The Shakers organized their first community in 1787 and to-day have fifteen communities, with a total membership of about one thousand, and property valued at a million and a half of dollars, but now seem to be in process of dissolution, with sufficient assets, however, to provide for the support of all their members during their lifetime. Here, too, is told the story of the extensive experiments of Robert Owen in America, in which he expended many thousands of dollars and left scarce a trace behind him. In this work also is to be found the most complete and authoritative account of the famous Oneida Community, which, after demonstrating to its own satisfaction at least, the desirability and practicability of its social and economic theories, gave way to the public opposition which its practices had aroused and reorganized as a corporation, with some co-operative features, and as such has been extremely prosperous. The author has followed out in detail the influences of Fourier and Cabot upon the social and economic thought of America and the extensive efforts that were made to realize the dreams of these greatest of the Utopians. It is useless to discuss here the reasons that led to the downfall of the majority of these experiments

and the present decline of practically all colonies. According to the residents in the colonies it was generally some particularly worthless and quarrelsome scoundrel who made all the trouble, and but few of them ever realized that the very fact that the colony could be disrupted by personal difficulties simply showed that the colony form of organization cannot outcompete competition, and that therefore other forms of social organization are better "fitted to survive" in that environment. If communism or collectivism is to succeed it must be in a communist or collectivist environment, hence in this case it is the environment, i. e., the competitive system, that should be made the point of attack. One of the most striking things brought out in this study is the remarkable longevity of the residents in those colonies whose existence was of sufficient length for a generation to come and go. Of the Amana Community, founded in 1842, and having at the present time over 1,700 residents and a rating of AAAA1 in the commercial agencies, we learn that "one member died recently at an age of over 100 years. There are now two members above 90 and about 25 above 85;" and this in a community by no means composed solely of adults, but having, on the contrary, 469 children under 15 years of age. Of the Oneida Community we learn that "many lived to over four score years, and 22 died between 85 and 96." But the most remarkable record of this sort is to be found in the history of the Mt. Lebanon and Hancock societies of Shakers. A mortality table given of these two communities shows that 53 members lived to be 90 or more, while single instances are given of deaths at the extremely advanced ages of 98, 99, 100, 102, 108 and even 120 years. Compare these figures with the mortality of any New England town having an equal population and much better medical facilities, but where workmen are "worn out" at 45, and some idea is gained of the fearful sacrifice in human life demanded by the Moloch of competition. The work is copiously illustrated with full page cuts of buildings and scenes in the various colonies and, taken all together, is the most valuable contribution to the history of the Utopian phase of American Socialism ever written.

Principles of Western Civilization. Benjamin Kidd. 538 pp. \$2.00 net.

The thesis of this book is contained in the following quotation from the opening chapter: "Our attention throughout the course of human history has been concentrated hitherto on the interests of the individuals who for the time being comprised what we call society. Yet what we are now brought to see is that the overwhelming weight of numbers, as of interests, in the evolutionary process, is never in the present. It is always in the future." Evidence to support this thesis is drawn from the fields of biology and history. The early work in the field of evolution by Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and others, was based solely upon a struggle between immediate interests. But the later work of Weisman and others has shown that the thing which really determines "fitness to survive" is not so much present as "projected efficiency." It is because the individual makes for the success of the race that it tends to be perpetuated. The same change of atti-

tude is shown in the field of philosophy. Here the author sees rather a revival of ancient positions than the entrance of new ones. Bentham and Hobbes, together with the founders of the American constitution, based their position upon principles that were supposed to stand outside of and above all present relations. But with the rise of the utilitarian school this point of view was lost and everything was placed in the present. This latter movement, he claims, reaches its culmination in Marx and Nietzsche, but as will be seen later on he is far from comprehending the Marxian position. In the field of political history he sketches two epochs in the evolution towards the position which he holds has now been attained. "In the first epoch of social development the characteristic and ruling feature is the supremacy of the causes which are contributing to social efficiency by subordinating the individual merely to the existing political organization. * * * In the second epoch of the evolution of human society we begin to be concerned with the rise to ascendancy of the ruling causes which contribute to a higher type of social efficiency by subordinating society itself with all its interests in the present to its own future." In the field of religion he finds in Christianity the first religion which places the interest of the individual in some point beyond the immediate present. All through the Middle Ages he sees in the struggle between the Church and State the effort to make the present dominant by making the rule of religion coincident with the rule of law. They are finally successful and State and Church become identical—combined in an effort to maintain the ascendancy of the present. This condition is broken by the Reformation which again raises to a dominant position something outside the realm of the present state. Out of the long struggles of Protestantism grows the spirit of tolerance, first in religion and later in politics. At the same time the doctrine of competition is running its course. It is now proving to be self-destructive and with the coming of the trust, the world market and international competition threatens to reduce all to the level of the lowest races. Meantime the development of the spirit of toleration and its evolution in the field of politics into party government is giving society a critical social consciousness and it is beginning to govern itself under the law of "projected efficiency," previously described. The working out of all this is summed up on the concluding pages. "The gradual organization and direction through the State, of the activities of industry and production, moving slowly, not to any fixed condition of ordered ease, but towards an era of such free and efficient conflict of natural forces as has never been in the world before, is no dream of excited imaginations. * * * No mind in our civilization has, in all probability, as yet imagined the full possibilities of the collective organization—under the intelligence of a highly centralized and informed intelligence, acting under the sense of responsibility here described—of all the activities of industry and production, moving steadily towards the goal of the endowment of all human faculties in a free conflict of forces." As will be seen, this is but the idealistic side of the Socialist position. The book is good Socialist propaganda, save that he sees the obverse of everything reflected in the mirror of idealism, instead of its actual material face. Of Marx he knows nothing. Of Social Democracy less.

He makes frequent reference to both, but always with the inference that Socialism is identical with State capitalism. But Socialists need not worry about that. So long as he preaches their position he may call it whatever he wishes to ease the bourgeois consciences of his readers. It will be one of the books that will help the breaking up process, and when once the sod is turned Socialists will be at hand to sow other seed. It is an intensely suggestive work for anyone. It is based upon a most careful and extensive research into all fields of thought (save Socialism) and he presents his ideas in a striking, although somewhat bombastic way, that helps to fix them in the mind. He presents many new aspects of old things and the reading of "Western Civilization" is a splendid help in the ordering of ideas.

Under My Own Roof. By Adelaide S. Rouse. Funk and Wagnalls Co. 291 pp. \$1.20.

Just a story. That is all. It really has no place in this department, but we found so much pleasure in reading that we break the rule for this once only to say that it is a beautifully told tale of the efforts of an unmarried literary woman to create a home for herself. It is told in just the quietly interesting way that will rest one whose mind is wrought up by social and economic problems. If you are looking for social teachings in the book you will find an excellent exposition of some of the ways in which capitalism breaks up the family, but we doubt if the author is aware of its presence, and if you do not trouble the social teachings they will not trouble you.

Books Received.

Democracy and Social Ethics. By Jane Addams. The Macmillan Co. Citizens' Library. \$1.25.

The Social Evil. By the Committee of Fifteen. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Crime and Social Progress. By Arthur Cleveland Hall. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Cloth, 426 pp. \$3.50.

The Republic of Plato. Book II. Translated by Alexander Kerr. Charles H. Kerr & Company. Paper, 54 pp. 15 cents.

Love's Coming of Age. Edward Carpenter. Charles H. Kerr & Company. Cloth, 162 pp. \$1.00.

These books will receive a more or less extended notice in later issues.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Literature for the Campaign.

In November of this year an election of Congressmen is to be held in every state in the union. At the same time many state, legislative and county officers are to be chosen. The conditions are favorable for a large increase of the Socialist vote. What the increase will be depends mainly upon the amount and the character of the literature circulated.

The co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is organized for the express purpose of seeing that the right sort of literature is supplied. It is not organized for the purpose of making profits; some of its publications are profitable, but the money is used to bring out more literature; no dividends are declared, and no officer or employee draws more than ordinary union wages.

We are therefore in a position to choose the sort of literature to publish that we believe will be the best for Socialism, even though something else might temporarily be more profitable. There is plenty of literature setting forth the alleged beauties of "public ownership" (by the capitalist class) in Glasgow and New Zealand. It is not hard to make converts who give a mild assent to Socialism as defined by Webster's Dictionary and the Encyclopedia Britannica. But when election time comes, such converts do not want to throw their votes away, so they vote for whichever capitalist candidate can talk most smoothly about human rights.

What they need is good constructive Socialist literature, every line of which shall be consistent with the basic principles of Socialism, but which shall be written in good, clear, every-day English, and which shall not say proletariat, bourgeois, class-consciousness and economic determinism more than four times on any one page.

This is the kind of propaganda literature we are looking for. We have found some of it, and on our co-operative plan we are supplying it at prices never before made on scientific Socialist literature in America.

FOUR-PAGE LEAFLETS.

We have started a series of four-page leaflets, each containing three pages of reading matter, with a blank on the last page for printing or stamping in the time and place of a Socialist meeting; below which is an advertisement of the Chicago Socialist and of a few numbers of the Pocket Library of Socialism. Three numbers of the series are now ready:

1. Who Are the Socialists?

2. A Country Where Strikes Don't Fail.

3. Why Join the Socialist Party?

Samples will be mailed free on request; 100 copies for 6 cents; 1,000 copies for 50 cents. To our stockholders the price will be 25 cents a thousand, expressage to be paid by purchaser.

The Madden Library.

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